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JIJÑĀSĀ

A Journal of the History of Ideas and Culture

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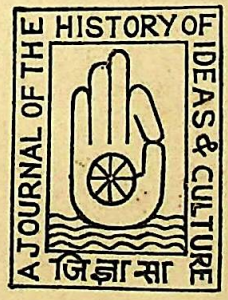

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Kapila ji
with best regards
Mukund Lath

(please see p. 20)

JIJÑĀSĀ

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A JOURNAL OF THE HISTORY OF IDEAS AND CULTURE

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R.K. KAUL*

HISTORY OF IDEAS AND MODERN LITERARY CRITICISM†

The history of ideas arose apparently because of a widespread dissatisfaction with the compartmentalization of knowledge in the universities in the twentieth century. At least two eminent scholars in the thirties of the present century, one in England, the other in the United States, independently of each other, set out to investigate what they called the climate of opinion, one in seventeenth century England, the other in eighteenth century Europe. Professor Basil Willey introduced *The Seventeenth Century Background* (1933) with the following observation :

> I have hoped to give some unity to so vast a subject by keeping steadily in view a more particular aim, that, namely of noting how poetry, and also religion, were affected by the contemporary 'climates of opinion' (p. vii).

Professor Carl L. Becker, in the first chapter of *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers* (1932) remarked :

> Professor Whitehead has recently restored to circulation a seventeenth century phrase—"climate of opinion". The phrase is much needed (p. 5).

Mr. Becker further glosses the phrase: "those instinctively held preconceptions in the broad sense, that *Weltanschauung* or world pattern—which imposed upon Dante and St. Thomas a peculiar use of the intelligence and a special type of logic."

Professor Arthur O. Lovejoy, in the introductory chapter of *The Great Chain of Being* (1936) called this kind of study the History of Ideas. He spelled out the scope of this discipline more precisely.

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†Paper presented at the Seminar on "Twentieth Century American Literary Theory and Criticism : Interdisciplinary approaches" in Mussoorie, September, 1974.

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He set out to investigate what he called "unit ideas". Among the principal type of unit ideas he listed :

> the manifestations of specific unit-ideas in the collective thought of large groups of persons. . .the beliefs, prejudices, pieties, tastes, aspirations, current among the educated classes through a whole generation, or many generations. (p. 19)

Some thing in the intellectual milieu of the thirties appears to have been congenial to the rise of the history of ideas.

This discipline, needless to say, was not invented in the twentieth century. Among the scholars of the nineteenth century who are regarded as the predecessors of intellectual history in England are William Lecky, author of *History of European Morals* (1869) and many other works, comparable in scope, and Leslie Stephen, who published the history of English thought in the eighteenth century and an account of the English Utilitarians, the two works adding up to five volumes.

In our own century this kind of study was undertaken by many scholars who had no connexion with the group at the Johns Hopkins University who formed the History of Ideas Club under the leadership of Lovejoy. Apart from Basil Willey and Carl Becker who have been mentioned already, the historians of ideas generally recognise in George Sabine's *History of Political Theory* (1937), Erich Auerbach's *Mimesis* (1953) and Rene Wellek's volumes on the *History of Modern Criticism* (1750-1950) valuable contributions to the subject. Still it was Lovejoy who systematically promoted the movement towards cutting across departmental divisions. He took within his purview political theory, theology, poetry, philosophy, aesthetics, zoology and the history of landscape gardening. His approach as a historian was both vertical and horizontal. On the one hand he made us see that a concept carried different meanings in the same age e.g. "Romanticism" as understood by Warton in England and Schlegel in Germany. On the other hand he traced the development of an idea through the centuries as in *The Great Chain of Being* (1936).

Lovejoy, like most of his colleagues, was a philosopher by training. How does the history of ideas differ from the more traditional history of philosophy ? The history of ideas, as the school

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of Lovejoy understands it, does not seek to record only the doctrines and beliefs of the intellectual elite of an age. It records "inarticulate beliefs, amorphous opinions and unspoken ideas as well as formal ideas." Lovejoy and others therefore document their formulations not exclusively with quotations from the major writers of an age but also from the minor, even second rate writers. In fact Lovejoy goes to the extent of saying that "your minor writer may be more important than the authors of the masterpieces." His defence is that a historian of ideas is most interested in ideas which attain a wide diffusion, which become a part of the stock of many minds.

The most important feature of Lovejoy's method is that he cuts across the hard and fast individual systems and breaks them into "their component elements" or "unit ideas". The historian of ideas, unlike the historian of philosophy, will not treat of such "unstable compounds" as Platonism, Idealism, or Transcendentalism. Instead he will isolate some unit of thought from Platonism or Christianity and present its progress over a certain period of time. One such unit-idea which has been investigated most extensively by Lovejoy is "Nature". Lovejoy was able to show that the term was used in over sixty senses in the neo-classical period, some of them overlapping, others conflicting with one another. We now know that "nature" in ths aesthetic terminology of the eighteenth century was both descriptive and normative. At some places it means the statistical average, at others an ideal to aspire to. This has considerably deepened our understanding of works like *The Discourses* of Joshua Reynolds and Pope's *Essay on Criticism*.

There is a difficulty incidental to the writing of all history. A historian necesarily writes for his contemporaries. It is necessary for him to explain the events and actions of the past to the historian's contemporary readers. This need is even more acute when the historian seeks to record not events and actions but doctrines and beliefs. In the attempt to explain the past he has to translate it into contemporary terms. Thence arises much of the re-writing of history, both scholarly and unscholarly. Basil Willey gives a very valuable piece of advice to those who wish to understand the seventeenth century habits of mind. The 'new philosophy,' he says, was valued chiefly as an 'explanation'. The clarity of an

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explanation, says Willey, "seems to depend upon the degree of satisfaction that it affords" :

> An explanation 'explains' best when it meets some need of our nature, some deep-seated demand for assurance. 'Explanation' may perhaps be roughly defined as a restatement of something—event, theory, doctrine, etc.—in terms of the current interests and assumption. (p. 2)

Willey acknowledges the difficulty of becoming critically conscious of one's own habitual assumptions. But he does not see that our own habitual assumptions are likely to colour our interpretation of the past.

The ways in which our habitual assumptions are likely to colour our understanding of the past are numerous. Professor George Boas, who was perhaps closer to Lovejoy's aims and ideals than any other historian of ideas, warns us against the danger of seeing more in the past than the past saw itself. In his essay "Some Problems of Intellectual History" he states that a historian, unlike a psychologist, is not concerned with the subconscious. "Ideas", he says, "are the beliefs of people." Inconsistencies should be noted, not explained away. The universe of his discourse is bounded by what men are aware of asserting. The historian of ideas is not concerned about what people of the past :

> would have asserted had they known what we know, or what they would have asserted had they drawn the conclusions from their premises which we would draw.[1]

In accordance with these aims Mr. B. Weinberg finds fault with Wellek's *History of Modern Criticism* because, in his view, Wellek's primary aims are not those of the historian proper. Mr. Wellek, according to him :—

> wishes to display in certain critics in the past the beginnings or the existence of orientations in criticism that he thinks useful for understanding 'our present situation'.[2]

This offends Mr. Weinberg's purism as a historian.

This aim is unexceptionable. For example we know, thanks to the research of the Namier school, that it is wrong to label the political parties of eighteenth century England as liberal or conser-

1 *Studies in Intellectual History*, ed. Boas and others, Baltimore, 1953, p. 13.
2 *JHI*, XXXI, 1 (Jan.—March, 1969), 133

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vative in the modern sense. This presumably was the mistake of the Whig historians of the nineteenth century. The eighteenth century politicians did not see themselves as radical or conservative. These terms acquired their present connotation after the French Revolution. Ideally we should seek to understand the terms Whig and Tory as the historian-philosopher David Hume understood them.

The implications of the view of history assumed by Messrs Boas and Weinberg, however, are more far-reaching. Granted that we should avoid anachronism, does it follow that we should attempt to offer an interpretation of the past in terms which the past would have understood and approved of ? If so what is the justification for the most original work done on primitivism by Lovejoy, Boas and all the other critics influenced by them ?

One of the most exciting discoveries of Lovejoy was that the primitivism ascribed to Rousseau was based on a misunderstanding of Rousseau's *Discourse*.[3] This led to the publication of at least three works known to the present speaker which traced the course of primitivism in eighteenth century English literature viz. *The Noble Savage* by H.N. Fairchild (New York 1928), *Primitivism and the Idea of Progress in English Popular Literature* by Lois Whitney (Baltimore, 1934) and *First Follow Nature* by M.M. Fitzgerald (New York, 1947). Interest in the cult of the Noble Savage was not new in the scholars of eighteenth century literature. For example C.B Tinker published a book *Nature's Simple Plan* (Princeton, 1922) a year before Lovejoy's article. But if we compare the book of Mr. Tinker with the books of Mr. Fairchild, Miss Whitney and Miss Fitzgerald we shall see a great difference in sophistication and discrimination. In the works published under Lovejoy's influence a distinction is made between chronological, juristic and cultural primitivism, and between hard and soft primitivism. There is also the curious fact recorded that primitivism and progressivism go hand in hand in the same period, in the same author and sometimes in the same work. All this falls in line with Mr. Boas's view that the business of the historian is to note the inconsistencies of the past not to explain them away.

3 "The Supposed Primitivism of Rousseau", *Modern Philology* XXI (1923), 165-186.

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But there is a sense in which Mr. Lovejoy and his school go beyond the jurisdiction of the historian proper. Lovejoy and Fairchild find fault with earlier scholars for ascribing primitivism to Rousseau. For example Lovejoy quotes from Irving Babbit's book *Rousseau and Romanticism* (New York, 1919) to prove that he misunderstood Rousseau. Mr. Fairchild goes a step further and accuses Dr. Johnson of misunderstanding Rousseau :

> At no time did Johnson understand Rousseau's man of nature much better than he did the rhythms of Milton or the idealism of Berkeley... he was quite ready to accept the current English caricature of Rousseau as the man who wanted every one to return to the life of the savage (p. 329).

Presumably Johnson should have studied Lovejoy's penetrating article. He would have understood Rousseau better, better perhaps than Rousseau understood himself.

Surely it is as important for a historian of ideas to grasp what Rousseau's contemporaries took him to mean as to point out what in his opinion Rousseau actually meant. Indeed I should like to venture the opinion that popular misconceptions and biased views are as much the subject of the historian's study as authentic statements or objective views. For example if after reading Butterfield's *George III and the Historians* (1957) we read some of the classics of nineteenth century literature we might find fault with them for reading nineteenth century issues in eighteenth century politics. We should seriously misunderstand Byron's *Vision of Judgment* if we read him in the light of modern historical scholarship. George III would then appear an unjustly maligned figure. But we must not only see the eighteenth century as the eighteenth century saw itself, we must also see the nineteenth century image of the eighteenth century if we are to understand the political ideas of Byron and Shelley. It hardly needs to be stated at this date that the popular misconceptions about Machiavelli are more important in our understanding of Elizabethan drama than Machiavelli's *Prince*.

The moral of all this is not that Wellek's approach is vindicated. The danger of anachronism should be avoided in works of history. But it does not appear to me that the school of Lovejoy entirely satisfies the high standard of historical scholarship professed by Messrs Boas and Weinberg. To begin with I should like to point

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out that there is a lot of difference between the "return to nature" and "primitivism". The very first step of translating the Stoic advice to follow nature into "primitivism" is anachronistic. Further when distinctions are made between chronological, cultural and juristic primitivism we have moved so far away from the past as to misinterpret it. Such distinctions either ascribe to or expect from older authors an academic rigour which might seriously distort our understanding of them. Rousseau was not a professional political scientist or cultural anthropologist. There probably were unresolved confusions even contradictions in him. The same goes for Lucretius who is classified as an anti-primitivist and Montaigne who is labelled as a cultural primitivist.

I shall now proceed to examine another danger in the writing of intellectual history. At the beginning of this paper I quoted a short extract from Carl Becker about the medieval climate of opinion which in his view, determined the use of the intelligence and the type of logic he found in Dante and St. Thomas. I wish to draw your attention to two of the phrases he uses to explain the meaning of the phrase "climate of opinion". They are "*Weltanschauung*" and "world pattern". The assumption that there is such a world pattern in every age has been challenged by some historians. The art historian Ernst Gombrich, for example, takes exception to this view, implicit in such intellectual and cultural historians as Huizinga and Burckhardt. Unfortunately it has not been possible for me to get hold of his book *In Search of Cultural History*. According to Mr. Peter Burke :

> Gombrich suggested that cultural history had been built on Hegelian foundations: that it had been built on Hegel's idea that an age or people had a spirit which expressed itself, or objectified itself, in art, in religion, in law, and so on....[4]

The age, according to Gombrich, doesn't have a spirit, and the argument that it does is circular: the spirit of the Renaissance is first derived from Renaissance art, and then it's used to explain Renaissance art.

It is doubtful if any unambiguous conclusions about the so-called spirit of the Renaissance can be formulated at all. Mr.

4 See, *The Listener*, XC, 2335 (27 Dec. 1973), 881.

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Donald Weinstein[5] classifies four main schools in the serious interpretation of Renaissance humanism. The Burckhardtian school saw its manifestations in individualism, secularism and moral autonomy. According to another school Renaissance humanism was nothing less than the champion of the authentic Latin Catholic tradition. According to a third school humanism was a cultural and educational enterprise whose chief concerns were rhetoric, scholarship and literature. And so on. I might add that all these schools have enough documentary evidence to support their respective theories. In view of this complexity it is permissible to question the value of a phrase like the spirit of the Renaissance.

It will be noted that Lovejoy talks not of the spirit of an age but of its (1) implicit assumptions, unconscious mental habits, operating in the thought of an individual or a generation; (2) turns of reasoning, tricks of logic, methodological assumptions; (3) the sacred words and phrases of a period or movement. It is true that by seeking to explore the "unconscious mental habits etc" he goes beyond the limits set for the historian by his colleague George Boas. Further in talking of the mental habits of a generation he is ascribing to a generation a personality which strictly belongs only to an individual. Still his analysis is too precise and discriminating to permit of any assertions about Universal History the genius of nations, or "the exhibition of Spirit in the process of working out the knowledge of that which it is potentially,"[6] in the manner of Hegel. According to Mr. Philip Wiener, Lovejoy rejected the a priori assumption that each age has or must have a dominant cultural *Zeitgeist* or unified climate of opinion. This assumption leads to such misleading labels as the Age of Reason or the age of science.[7]

But Lovejoy's very attempt to discriminate between the various senses of key-words like "nature" or "Romanticism" has lent itself to criticism. Mr. George Watson for example calls it "definition mania" and asks if it is necessary to define romanticism at all.[8] I

5 See JHI, XXXIII, i (Jan., March, 1972), 166.

6 "Introduction to the Philosophy of History", See, *Hegel, Selections,* ed. J. Loewenberg, New York, 1957, p. 360.

7 *JHI,* XXXIV. 4 (Oct.—Dec. 1973), 595.

8 *The Study of Literature,* 1969, pp. 192-207.

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should agree with Mr. Watson if he could place a ban on the use of such ambiguous words by literary and other historians, as the editors of the *Oxford History of English Literature* have passed. To illustrate my point, I offer an extract from Wellek's *History of Modern Criticism* which has been mentioned earlier as an example of intellectual history. The following passage attempts to sum up the taste of the French critic Sainte-Beuve :

> a somewhat romantic classicism: the virtues of moderation, orderliness, wholeness, and good sense are central to his preferences. He is bored by the inanities of late academic neo-classicism, but neither does he care for the medieval and baroque. He is repelled by the excess of romanticism, its excursions into the purely gruesome and grotesque, the repulsive and the low, but remains basically romantic in the love for the elegiac, the melancholy brooding over man's condition and past. He has only a moderate sympathy with the new realism. . .[9]

By using such terms as classicism, neo-classicism, medieval, baroque and new realism Mr. Wellek demonstrates the necessity of definition. By using "romantic" and "romanticism" thrice in one short passage, where the terms stand for at least two entirely different senses Mr. Wellek shows why Lovejoy's discrimination of romanticisms was essential.

The last point I wish to make relates to the latest trends in the history of ideas. From a sampling of the articles published in the *Journal of the History of Ideas* in the last five years or so there are certain new trends noticeable in this discipline. I base my observations on those articles which attempt to state the scope and methodology of intellectual history. These differ quite materially from the earlier statements made by Lovejoy and Boas. Broadly speaking my conclusion is that the most recent historians of ideas do not have much to offer to a student of literature. This is unfortunate for inter-disciplinary studies, but perhaps unavoidable. As history turns more and more into a social science it moves away from the humanities. Until such time as the study of literature itself turns into a social science it is unlikely to have a very close union with history of any kind, intellectual or economic.

9 III. 70.

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In fairness it should be admitted that even amongst the contemporaries of Lovejoy the only scholar whose work would be placed in the essential reading list of a student of literature is Professor Marjorie Hope Nicolson. Her books especially *Newton Demands the Muse* (1946), *The Breaking of the Circle* (1950) and *Science and Imagination* (1956) enable us to understand the poetry of seventeenth and eighteenth century England in the light of contemporary scientific discoveries and inventions. She fulfils the expectations Lovejoy had of a collaborative attempt to annotate Milton. Miss Nicolson's approach, however, is not peculiar to the Lovejoy group of historians and philosophers. She freely acknowledges her debt to Tillyard's *Elizabethan World Picture* (1943) and the numerous articles of Mr. R.F. Jones.

Still the directions in which the strictly contemporary intellectual historians are moving make their work more remote from literary studies than the work of their predecessors. Mr. Leonard Krieger in his article "The Autonomy of Intellectual History" informs us that contemporary cultural conditions have affected intellectual history in the following ways :—

(1) the dramatic shrinkage in the historical branches of the substantive disciplines traditionally bordering on and overlapping intellectual history . . .

(2) the eruption of the belief in discontinuity as a necessary condition of all human affairs (p. 508).

The innovations in contemporary intellectual history according to Mr. Krieger are :-

(1) the application of linguistics, with its quantitative, analytical, and structural varieties . . .

(2) the selection of social theory and theorists as the objects of intellectual history.

(3) inquiry . . . into the impact of a thinker's social experience upon the formation of his ideas . . .

(4) the perception of aesthetic modes of expression as autonomous kinds of thinking . . .[10]

I am not sure that I understand Mr. Krieger's language fully. Perhaps that is one of the consequences of trying to make the discipline autonomous. From the very beginning the subject owed its success

10 *JHI*, XXXIV, (Oct., Dec, 1973), 513-514.

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to the fact that it took up for study problems which fall between two schools. A zoologist for example would not be interested in the views of Monboddo so it was left to the intellectual historian to take up a study of his views on evolution. But the historian's own background was in philosophy. Once the intellectual historian claims autonomy for his subject the danger is that the historian would himself fall between two schools.

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G.C. PANDE*

THE CONCEPT OF THE SELF IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

Since the Upanisadic declaration *Tattvamasi*—that thou art—identifying the individual self with the highest cosmic reality, the concept of the self has remained the most central and challenging concept of Indian philosophy. The Lokayata and the Buddhists repudiated the very existence of the Self (*Atman*) as a distinct and independent entity. The various realistic schools like Nyaya and Vaisesika, Mimamsakas and the Jainas, the Ramanujiyas and the Madhvas denied the cosmic character of the 'Self', asserting it to be an individual and finite 'spiritual' substance, one object among many others. The Sankhya and Yoga, conceiving the 'Self' as the transcendental subject, were able to advance beyond the 'pan-objectivism' of the realists, but in their turn refused to countenance the cosmic character of the 'Self' which remained for them a featureless spiritual monad.

The controversy over the 'self' thus has been essentially of a metaphysical nature—whether the 'self' is a distinct real, whether its reality is 'substantial' or 'transcendental', individual or cosmic. These are the three main questions over which the philosophers, ranged themselves.

The Lokayata identified the 'self' with the body and their theory has been called 'Dehatmavada'. Even in the *Chandogya Upanisad* we are told that Vairocana was satisfied with regarding the body as the *Atma*. Among Buddha's contemporaries Ajitakesa-Kambali denied that any soul survived the death of the body and Prince Payasi conducted experiments to discover whether any soul escaped

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the body at death. The *Sarvadarsana-samgraha* tells us that the Lokayata regarded consciousness as a special capacity produced by the organization of material elements into the form of the body just as the power of intoxication arises from fermentation (*caitanyam mada-saktivat*). The Lokayata, thus, identified the self with the body and considered conscious life as a special kind of bodily behaviour. This doctrine closely resembles that of modern materialism, specially behaviourism. It rested on the assumption that there is only one valid way of knowing viz., sense-perception. If *pratyaksa* is accepted as the only *pramana*, it would follow that there is no reality going under the name of the Self and transcending the realm of the sensibilia.

The Buddhists were quick to point out that the denial of reasoning as an independent way of knowing the truth, of *anumana* as *pramana*, is beset with self-contradiction. In the *Nyaya-bindu* Dharmakirti points out that the statement '*anumana* is not a *pramana*' is self-contradictory because all negative judgments rest on inference just as all verbal communications become intelligible only through inference. Communication precedes statement and inference precedes negation. Thus, the negative judgment under consideration doubly presupposes the validity of firm connections between signs and their significations. In fact, the Lokayatas themselves admit a weaker kind of inference which they call *sambhavana*. In a world of pure contingency there would remain no basis for degrees of probability. The very notion of probability presupposes a notion of law, and contingency acquires meaning only through its contrast with necessity. If one were to abandon the concept of necessity and law, the possibility of scientific knowledge would have to be abandoned. It is obvious, thus, that valid knowledge cannot be restricted to merely empirical knowledge. Human reason must be allowed the capacity of reaching a kind of knowledge which is not wholly limited to sensuous or physical reality. The Buddhists have further pointed out that all mental phenomena are distinguished by the pervasive feature of self-consciousness (*svasamvedana*). The possibility of inspection, which the human mind possesses, fixed an unbridgable gulf between subjective and objective being. Mind and matter, *citta* and *rupa*, are absolutely distinct elements (*dhatus*) and neither can be regarded as a capacity or form of the other.

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From these logical and psychological principles upheld by the Buddhists, it follows that the materialistic denial of the Atman is ill-grounded. Since knowledge cannot be restricted to mere perception, reality cannot be restricted to the merely physical. And, the mind itself cries aloud to be distinguished from the objects of sense-perception. These considerations establish a realm of psychic and rational realities, a world of intelligibilia, by the side of the physical world, the world of sense-perception.

The Buddhists, nevertheless, denied the reality of the self as a separate spiritual substance, as an independent finite individual that remains identical in the midst of the process of experience. They denied that there is any changeless identical person carrying the burden of the *skandhas.* While the Lokayata reduced the self to the body on account of their inveterate behaviourism, the Buddhists seemed to reduce the Self to a stream of consciousness on account of their emphasis on psychic introspection. The stock Buddhist argument for denying the self was—the Atman does not exist because it is never perceived (*nopalabhyate*-here perception includes introspection) One is reminded of Hume when he questioned the reality of any unchanging psychic substance on the ground that looking into one's own mind one can discover only changing states. Another argument which the Buddhists used was of a more general character. There is no changeless self becuse all reality must be instantaneous. This argument is specially directed against the doctrine of schools like Samkhya and Vedanta. At the same time the Buddhists tried to meet the criticism levelled against them. The notion of a Self which is undoubtedly present in all consciousness is explained as an illusion. Memory is explained through the doctrine of *Vasana.* Almost like William James the Buddhists held that each preceding moment of consciousness hands over its own impressions to the next succeeding moment. The validity of the moral law is defended by stating that actions bring about their retribution as an impersonal moral reflex which works so long as one nourishes the illusion of an identical Self. Do we not consider the son entitled to the debts and gifts of his father! The Buddhists further buttressed their conception of man as a mere 'psychic continuum' devoid of any underlying changeless 'self' by analysing the notions of 'existence', 'causality' and,

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'consciousness' in a new way. Existence is essentially characterised by causal functioning, so that for any thing to be, it must produce some effect. Since to produce a different effect is to be a different thing, it follows that everything that is, must last but for a moment in which to produce its effect and pass away utterly. This makes the universe a ceaseless flux and an 'eternal self' or an identical soul finds no place in it. Consciousness is itself conceived as a series of events or flashes produced by the interaction of 'causes and conditions'.

Unlike the Lokayata denial of 'self' the Buddhist denial does not repudiate the notion of Karman and rebirth. It only repudiates the notions of 'identity', 'permanence' and 'substance'. It replaces these by the notions of 'continuity', 'flux. and 'function'. Without robbing religion of its moral and spiritual validity, Buddhism proposes a metaphysical revolution which is directed as much against the realists as against the materialists.

The realistic views seek to buttress the common sense view of the Self against the physical reductionism of the Lokayata as well as against the psychic reductionism of the Buddhists. The Soul *has* body and mind; the soul *is* not body or mind. Here the notion of the Self is split up into a changing and accidental part and an unchanging and essential part. The relations of the Self with the body and the mind and through them with the world are accidental, the products of *Karma*, and constitute its experience as well as bondage. The essential nature of the Self which alone continues in the state of liberation is simple and eternal. Liberation permanently divests the soul of the possibility of experiencing the world.

The Naiyayikas describe *Atma* as one of the nine substances where substance (*dravya*) is one of the several categories (*padartha*) into which reality is divided. The substance has been defined in several alternative ways—as the substratum of qualities or as the substratum of action, or as having the capacity of becoming the inherent cause. In the West, Aristotle had defined the substance as what could only be a subject and never a predicate and mediaeval scholastics defined the substance in terms of its independence. Although the Nyaya mode of definition is slightly different, the intention and the result are the same. For Nyaya, existence belongs only to *dravya*, *guna* and *karma*, and *guna* and *karma* are dependent on the

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substance. Here, substance alone has independent existence. The Atman as a substance is characterized by the qualities of knowledge, desire, will, effort, sin and virtue, pleasure and pain. In fact, these qualities are the ground on which we can validly infer the existence of the Atman. The qualities imply a substance and these psychic qualities are not to be found in any material substance. Hence, there must be an immaterial substance or Atman. It is a peculiar *Vyatireki* or negative inference. In all these instances where the Soul is known to be absent the qualities in question are also known to be absent. But, one does not know of any positive instance which may serve as an example because the reason is characteristic of the *sadhya* and is coextensive with it. This logical difficulty with the inference has led some Naiyayikas to argue that the soul is known directly in introspection.

The above mentioned qualities of the Soul, however, are manifested only when the soul is in connection with the mind and, hence, body. The mind is also a substance, atomic and immaterial. Its existence is proved by the fact that we cannot simultaneously know objects through the different senses. It is the contact with the mind that gives the Soul its life of experience and it is disconnection with the mind that gives it liberation, when all the qualities mentioned above cease to operate. Such a soul can be distinguished from matter only by saying that while it had the capacity of experience the material substances are inherently incapable of it.

The Mimamskas fundamentally agree with the Naiyayikas in regarding the Soul as a substance. The Atman is the substratum of experience. Whether it is known through self-consciousness as the Prabhakaras hold or through mental perception as the Kaumarilas hold, is a disputed point. But, the Mimamsakas agree in regarding the self as the agent and the experiencer and the Soul as the bearer of sin and virtue. The Soul, thus, comes to have two aspects—a persistent and imperishable aspect and also an aspect of modal change. It is both subject and object. For the Kaumarilas the Self becomes thus sentient as well as insentient, as Madhusudana Saraswati puts it (*Jado bodhatmakasceti*). For the Prabhakaras the soul is wholly insentient, being not sentience but its substratum.

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The Mimamsakas evolve their concept of the self by working out the metaphysical implications of the reality of action and the validity of Vedic injunctions There must be a lasting Soul, capable of action and experience, because otherwise Vedic injunctions promising heaven would be rendered nugatory. It is, however, difficult to see how permanence and impermanence, sentience and insentience, can be combined in the same substance without contradiction. On the other hand, the Naiyayikas, in trying to account for this duality, through the intervention of the mind, bring the Soul perilously near the charge of being insentient.

The Jainas denied that there is any contradiction between being and becoming. The being of the Soul is qua substance while its becoming is qua modeor *paryaya*. The true nature of the Soul, however, is to have infinite knowledge, power and bliss. The soul is an infinite spiritual substance, though in the state of bondage it is delimited by the power of *karma* and assumes the size of the body (*madhyama parimana*). In the Jaina conception of Jiva, vital, psychic and transcendenal categories are rolled into one. The lowliest plants and animals, men and gods, are all links in a chain and the highest possibility, which is also the essence of the Jiva, is realized in the Siddha or the Kevali.It presents us with the grand spectacle of a vast spiritual evolution ranging from almost bare possibility to the fullest realization of spritual being. Nevertheless the metaphysical problem of defending the substance as a viable category and satisfactorily explaining how the trascendent spirit gets into bondage and painfully struggles through it can hardly be said to have been satisfactorily explained. To the reasoning mind the world of natural objects appears to be inexorably subject to the categories of space, time and causality. While human experience is in an obvious sense subject to such determinations, the sole purpose of the belief in *Atman* is somehow to vindicate a realm of freedom and immortality for the spirit that is in man. If human actions and experiences are part of the natural world, how would the Self be free or immortal and beatific ? On the other hand, if the real nature of the Self is infinity and independence, how would it act and experience in the world, subject to law ? The theories of a substantial Self place the substance in the world of freedom but its real accidents in the world of bondage.

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The unity of the substance and its accidents thus becomes wholly unintelligible.

In Samkhya, thus, in order to avoid this difficulty an effort is made to preserve the transcendental character of the Self by refusing to accept any real connection between it and the accidental world of experience. Bondage arises through a radical ignorance. The mind and all its functioning are squarely placed within Prakrti. This explains the heteronomy of human actions and experiences since they are now fully the products of nature. Nevertheless, they point to something beyond them. They would not be possible unless there were an eternal Self as their witness. The Self is the necessary *prius* of experience. The consciousness of change implies an unchanging consciousness and the Self is the deepest of the transcendental conditions of objectivity. The Purusa of Samkhya is somewhat like the Transcendental Apperception of Kant, only it is not a mere ideal, a *focus imaginarius.* Nor indeed is it a subsance or an agent. These are categories belonging to Nature. The Self is the changeless and non-objective condition of the whole manifested world.

The Samkhya view of the Self attains a singularly remarkable depth in comprehending the paradox of self-consciosness. On the one hand, consciousness is a changing process, a part of the objective world. On the other, it presupposes an eternal subject. The Samkhya refused to accept the correlativity of the subject and the object in knowledge. The object depends on the subject for its manifestation. But, the subject has a free and eternal being.

The Samkhya however, is not wholly able to free itself from the fallacy of regarding the Self as an object, because they continue to attribute plurality to the Purusa. How is the catagory of number to be applied to what is wholly transcedental ? What is more, is the unmanifested being of Nature to be understood ? If Prakrti in itself does not require the Purusa how can it ever require it afterwards ? It is strange to be told that the manifestation of Prakrti is only with reference to Purusa and at the same time that it is essentially idependent of the Purusa. Nature is independent of the spirit and yet functions for it. This appears to be a myth or a mystery rather than a reasoned principle.

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The trouble is that the Samkhya does not proceed far enough. Having declared the connection of Purusa with Prakrti as grounded in illusion, it still continues to regard Prakrti as real. Advaita takes the final step of declaring the whole world of the non-Self to be an illusion. The Self needs no proof because it is self-evident (*svatah-siddha*) and undeniable (*anapohya*). The Self is self-luminous (*sva-prakasha*) and needs no other for its revelation. Being the subject of all change and experience it is itself changeless and non-objective. All plurality falls on the side of the objects and all objects are qua objects mere appearances—unreal because they are objects (*drsyatvat mrsa*). That alone is real which is unalterable (*yat sat tannityam*). Objects and their experience are part of what is sublated (*badhita*).

There are not two real worlds, two real natures of the Self, to be somehow connected. There is only one reality which stands eternally above the world of illusion. There are not two natures of the Self but only two levels at which to understand the infinite nature of the Self. At the level of illusion Advaita accepts the apparent reality of the world and in its psychology accepts a good part of Samkhya. This illusory experience, however, is grounded in the transcendent reality of the Self, just as the illusory snake is grounded in the rope. The Self is the transcendent ground of the world and this description itself leaves the nature of the Self untouched. It is a mere *tatastha laksana*. The real nature of the Self is wholly indescribable in relational terms or categories appropriate to finite objects. And yet, the Self does not become, hereby, an X, a wholly unknown entity. For, the Self is not an object. It is the nearest, the most intimate, the self-evident Self of all. By the force of a beginningless ignorance we mistake our true nature and simultaneously enter the toils of an illusory world. Advaita seeks to rescue man from this thraldom.

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MUKUND LATH*

THE MUSIC OF GITAGOVINDA AND ITS ANTECEDENTS : SOME HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS

I

Since the earliest histories of Sanskrit literature began to be written scholars have assigned to the *Gitagovinda* of Jayadeva a unique place in Indian literary writings. One reason for the uniqueness of the *Gitagovinda* is its form. It is quite unlike any preceding lyric in Sanskrit. The cause lies in the fact that no lyric before it was so palpably connected with music.

One of the most well-known verses from the *Gitagovinda* is that in which the poet proudly proclaims his excellence in having composed the 'most sweet and mellifluous verse.[1] In another verse which is not so well-known, Jayadeva has claimed an equal excellence for his music: In verse 10 of the last sarga (one of the verses attached as an epiglogue to his work) Jayadeva exclaims—

yadgāndharvakalāsu kauśalamanudhyānaṁ ca yadvaiṣṇavaṁ
yacchṛṅgāravivekatattvaracanākāvyeṣu līlāyitam
tatsarvaṁ jayadevapaṇḍitakaveḥ kṛṣṇaikatānātmanaḥ
sānandaḥ pariśodhayantu sudhiyaḥ śrīgītagovindataḥ.

(Excellence in the skill and subtleties of music; the path of meditation on God according to the Vaisnava tradition; the proper assimiltion and play of the deepest and truest *srngara* in poetry: may the learned gather (or expect) these things from the *Gitagovinda* of the pandit-poet Jayadeva)[2]

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1 *Yadi harismaraṇe sarasaṁ mano yadi vilāsakālasu kutūhalam/madhurakomalakāntapadāvalīṁ śṛṇu tadā jayadevasarasvatīm. Gītagovinda* sarga 1, verse 4

2 Kumbha explains the last line in such a way that it expresses an uncharacteristically modest rather than a boastful thought : "he sudhiyaḥ jayadevapanditakavestatsarvaṁ gītagovindataḥ. atra tasil śārvasibhaktikatvātsaptamyarthe upapattiḥ. gītagovinde pariśodhayantu, śuddhaṁ kurvantu". But Kumbha adds : "atha gītagovindādeva śuddhaṁ jānantu".

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This is a verse which occurs in most manuscripts of the *Gitagovinda*. The claim made here by Jayadeva reveals that in presenting the *Gitagovinda* to the connoisseurs of his day, the poet wanted them to admire his musical as much as his poetic skill.

The larger part of *Gitagovinda* comprises, what have been called, *astapadis* in almost all manuscripts of the work. The *astapadis* number twentyfour and contain eight stanzas each (the first *astapadi*, a hymn to the ten incarnations of Krsna, however, has eleven). The *astapadis* have been thematically linked with each other into a drama-like episodic scheme with the help of small groups of intermediate poetic verses. These are composed in the familiar manner and metre of classical Sanskrit poerty. But the *astapadis* are revealed to be quite different even at a cursory glance: not only is the flow of words and diction in them composed with an eye to music, their metre, too, forms a class apart from customary Sanskrit poetic metres.

There are, indeed, many indicative factors which disclose the song aspect of the *astapadis* and reveal their kinship with forms conceived in the musical as distinguished from the purely poetic tradition:

(1) Each *astapadi* contains a refrain—a dhruvapada—which was a characteristically musical feature.[3]

(2) Almost all manuscripts caption each *astapadi* with the name of the raga and tala to which it was to be sung.

(3) And lastly, the end verse of each *astapadi* includes the name of the poet.[4]

These are features found associated with song-forms and are quite alien to Sanskrit poetic practice.They have been part of our musical tradition and are still to be found in the practice of song

3 In the prabandha genre of medieval songs—to which as we shall argue, the *Gitagovinda* belonged—the dhruva was that musical part or movement which was essential to all prabandhas, some other features being optional. The dhruva, like the theme in western music and the '*sthayi*' in current Hindustani music, was to be often repeated. Someśvara in his *Mānasollāsa* defines dhruva as : '*paunaḥpunyād dhruvatvācca dhruvakaḥ parikīrtitaḥ*' *Mānasollāsa* 4, 16, 442. See also *Sangīta-ratnākāra* (henceforth shortened as S. R.) 4, 9 and the commentary of Kallinātha.

4 This feature is indeed decreed for prabandha songs : In the last movement, of the prabandha, termed the *ābhoga*, the poet-composer says Śārngadeva. should include his name.....*syādābhogasadanantaramgeyo vāggeyakāreṇa svābhidhānavibhūṣitaḥ. S. R.* 4, 38.

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writers who compose in classical forms such as *dhrupad*, *khayal*, *thumri* etc. The padas of the medieval poet-saints which were composed as songs are also seen to incorporate these features. They have a long past and can be traced back at least to the songs of the early medieval 'siddha' poets such as Sarahapada, Kanhupada and others, the earliest of whom goes back to the eighth century A.D. The compositions of these 'siddha' poets were geya-padas (or songs). These early padas are found to contain all the features stamped also upon the *astapadi*: they include a dhruvapada or refrain; they record the name of the poet (the '*bhanita*' as it is called) and moreover, manuscripts of the texts of these songs—dating back, according to their discoverer Hara Prasad Sastri, to a very early period—also mention the name of the raga to which each song was to be sung.

Thus the *astapadi* is seen to have a strong kinship with forms belonging to the musical tradition. In fact, the name *astapadi* itself indicates the musical affinities of the form. The *Brhaddesi* of Matanga, a well-known and influential text on music, placed usually in the seventh-eighth centuries A.D., lists the *tripadi*, *castus padi* and *satpadi* as standard song-forms belonging to the large genre called prabandha (Br*haddesi*, verses 380 and 386). These forms are classified under prabandha in subsequent sangita-texts, too. Sarngadeva, the famed authority on music, who may have been a younger contemporary of Jyadeva (he composed his *Sangita-ratnakara* in the reign of the Yadava King Singhana ruling at Deogiri, modern Daulatabad—between 1210 to 1247 A.D.),[5] lists these forms and technically delineates their characteristic features.[6] Another work, the encyclopaedic *Manasollasa* (also known as the *Abhilasitarthacintamani*) is most interesting in this context. It covers a large range of diverse subjects including music. The work was, purportedly, written by king Somesvara of the Western Calukya dynasty; though it has been argued that the actual author was a learned pandit in the employ of the king.[7] Somesvara ascended the throne at Kalyani in the third

5 *S. R.* (Adyar Library edition), Vol. I, Introduction, p. x.
6 *S. R.* 4, 29-30 and 4, 268-274.
7 *Mānasollāsa*, G. O. S. edition, Vol. I, Introduction, p. vi.

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decade of the 12th century A.D. and the *Manasollasa* was composed perhaps in the next decade.[8]

The *Manasollasa* provides many valuable cues to the understanding of the song-tradition in which the *Gitagovinda* was composed. It gives the texts of many a song actually sung during the period. Other technical works on music rarely do so. The material in this work is especially valuable as it was composed some decades before the *Gitagovinda*, which is generally placed towars the end of the 12th century A.D. The *Manasollasa* has a long section (in the 16th chapter of the 4th *vimsati*) on prabandha songs. Numerous samples of song-texts are given and these provide us with interesting antecedents of the form adopted by Jayadeva in his *astapadis*. The prabandha genre included a rich variety of forms and though Somesvara quotes dozens of examples he says that he is illustrating only those prabandhas where he could not find a well-known prevalent song.[9] The songs given are not always complete, for only a few lines are thought as sufficiently illustrative; still, many of the songs contain the name of the professed composer Somesvara at the end[10] much in the same manner as laksana-gitas, illustrative of particular ragas, contain the name of the composer in the classical songs of today.[11] We find in the *Manasollasa* many a song which foreshadow the manner, diction, style and even to some extent the theme of the *astapadis*—though the poetic skill and the well-measured flow of the *Gitagovinda* are absent here. It would be worthwhile to take up a few examples :

1. One of the prabandhas, called *jayamalika* (perhaps because every new line began with the word 'jaya') composed as a hymn, bears similarities with Jayadeva's famous

8 *Ibid*,, pp. vi—vii.

9 *laksanena prabandhānām yatra lakshyam pratīyate na tatrodāhrtih proktā, sāpekşyeşu nigadyate Mānasollāsa* 4, 16, 199.

10 *Ibid*., 4, 16, 476; 412; 495 and etc.

11 Let us take an example : Pandit Bhatkhande who composed under the name of Catura, gives the following '*sthāyī*' for the *laksana-gīta* of rāga *śyāmakalyāna* : '*śyāmakalyāna gāvat nisadina catura gun*, (*Hindustani Sangīta Paddhati*, Pt. V, p. 76). Compare this with the following in Somesvara : After saying that he is going to illustrate the prabandha called hamsavatī belonging to the '*elā*' class (*Mānasollāsa* 4, 16, 456), Someśvara gives the song, ending with '*a somesvaradeva viracita elā hamsavatī*'. At the place of the *a* syllable a free musical passage was perhaps, to be sung.

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astapadi on the *dasavatara* theme. The metre in Somesvara's song is irregular as is often the case with the texts of songs even today. The first three lines are—

jaya bhujaparighadhṛtagovardhanadharādhara
jaya kalpāntakakālakesarikarālākārakāliyapralayakārin
jaya madhuvadhūvidhuntuda[12] **etc**

2. Another prabandha-hymn contains a rhyme scheme and has fluid-flowing *samasas* like Jayadeva :

nijavibhavaracitadaśāvatāram
niśitaśaraśatakṣatadanujabhāram[13] **etc.**

Yet another in the same strain reads :

sudarśanadalitabāṇabāho
śiromātrāvaśeṣīkṛtarāho
niravadhiśāstropadeśadakṣa
saṅgararaṅgadalitahiraṇyākṣa[14] etc.

3. There are expressions also of the Krsna-gopi love theme in the liquid style made famous by Jayadeva :

Yauvanabhūṣitagopavadhūmukhapadmamadhukara
śyāmalavigrahakāntivinirjitanavyajaladhara
śṛṅgārasadanasmerasaroruhasañcayapiñjara[15] **etc.**

Even Radha is mentioned in a hymn where Krsna is addressed as :

smarabharavivaśarādhāhṛdayavallabha[16]

The *Gitagovinda* reflects a much deeper awareness of poetic values than do Somesvara's songs, but, then, Jayadeva had poetic as well as musical ambitions. Yet the songs quoted here suffice to show that the *Gitagovinda astapadis* were composed within the well-established tradition, scheme and strand of prabandha songs.

One stray song of the species illustrated in the *Manasollasa* occurs even in a non-musical Jain Prakrit literary work, the *Katha kosaprakarana* of Jinesvara Suri, who composed his collection of stories in 1051 A.D.,[17] not many years after the *Manasollasa*. In the story of prince Sihakumara (*Sihakumara Kathanakam*), the main

12 *Mānasollāsa*, 4, 16, 309.
13 *Ibid.*, 4, 16, 501.
14 *Mānasollāsa*, 4, 16, 356.
15 *Ibid.*, 4, 16, 451.
16 *Ibid.*, 4, 16, 370.
17 See the Introduction to Jineśvara Sūri's *Kathakośa-prakaraṇa*, Singhī Jaina Granthamālā No. 11, Published by Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, 1949.

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character Siha is described as an expert in the art and technique of music. Siha, when asked to show his skill in the court of his father, sings a song, which Jinesvara has called a *cauppadika bandha*, evidently meaning a composition in the *catuspadika* i.e. a prabanda song of the *catuspadi* variety. Jinesvara gives us the text of the song, which is a hymn in Prakrit to Mahavira. The song has many points of interest. It contains four stanzas in a more or less regular rhyming metre, as in Jayadeva. It has a refrain in the form of a line which is repeated after every stanza—this is evidently the 'dhruva' though not actually called so. The name of the composer Sihakumara occurs in the line which acts as the dhruva. We quote two stanzas :

Saṁsārasamuddagatabhavika uddharaṇā
Kāmakohamayamohamicchatta avaharaṇā
esiṁ kari gāyai rāyasīhakumārā
vīra tuha pāyavirahi sayalu andhārā

(This stanza is repeated as dhruva)

Devasuramanuyasivasampayatarukaṁdā
narayaduhatiriyabhavasantativicchedā
esiṁ kari gāyai ..... etc.[18]

One here observes many notable formal similarities with the *Gitagovinda astapadi* : the rhyme scheme is of the same nature; the poet's name is included in the song and there occurs a refrain; and indeed, the very name of the form, *catuspadi*, cannot but remind us of the *astapadi*. This song was recorded a few decades before the composition of the *Gitagovinda*.

II

There is, then, a strong case for believing that the *astapadi* belonged to the genre of songs called the prabandha. Jyadeva, too, has himself called his poem a prabandha in a celebrated verse:

vāgdevatācaritacitritacittasadmā
padmāvatīcaraṇacāraṇacakravartī
śrīvāsudevaratikelikathāsametaṁ
karoti jayadevakaviḥ prabandham[19]

The word prabandha was used also for any literary composition and this is the sense in which it is generally understood in this verse. But in view of the extremely suggestive evidence that has been pre

18 *Ibid.*, text, p. 42.
19 *Gitagovinda*, sarga 1, verse 2.

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sented above, one can reasonably maintain that the word in this context denotes the prabandha genre of songs, too.

There is another suggestive point that emerges from the verse in this connection. Jayadeva here names a woman, Padmavati, in tones of obvious tenderness and love. Padmavati was according to well-known legends, Jayadeva's wife. Jayadeva remembers her again with affection and pleasure at the end of an *astapadi* in the 11th sarga:

vihitapadmāvatīsukhasamāje
kuru murāre maṅgalaśatāni
bhaṇati jayadevakavirājarāje[20]

(O Murari, bestow a hundred blessings on Jayadeva the king of poets who sings to you—Jayadeva who has often been a source of great happiness to Padmavati).

Mentioning one's beloved in a poem (even if she was a wife) was considered as a highly unorthodox—not to say unseemly—poetic practice and some commentators have tried to explain Padmavati as denoting the Goddess Laksmi—though such a name for Laksmi hardly occurs anywhere. But while we find no precedents where a Sanskrit poet has openly inserted the name of his own wife or beloved within his poem, such a practice seems to have been quite in order among singers and composers of songs. Witness Kalidasa's Yaksini who tried to while away her sorrow by singing songs with her beloved's name in them.[21] In case of prabandha singers we even find a near-authorization for such a practice in the *Manasollasa* where Somesvara states: "A musician should sing to (or of) the king or the chief prince who are endowed with the qualities of the great and possess great power; or he should sing to (or of) the chief queen or the great queen or to a woman of distinction whom he loves; to (or of) these he should sing, whomsoever he feels inclined towards; but a prabandha should never be composed with a view to please any

20 According to one reading the *aṣtapadī* no. 19, sarga 10, also mentions Padmāvatī in the last verse, where Jayadeva refers to himself as the 'beloved or husband of Pādmāvatī' : *'jayati padmāvatīramaṇajayadevakavibhāratībhaṇitamatiśātam.* This is a pāṭhabheda quoted by both the Nirṇayasāgara edition of the *Gītagovinda* (see p. 133) and the Lālbhāi Dalpatbhāi edition with Mānāṅka's ṭīka; see p. 87.

21 *madgotrāṅkaṁ viracitapadaṁ geyāmudgatukāmu* : *Meghaduta*, Uttaramegha, 23. I am indebted to Professor G. C. Pande for this suggestion.

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one else even for the sake of money".[22] In the light of this statement, we can see that Jayadeva was not violating any code of propriety in having fondly put in the name of his beloved in the body of his composition.

Although the form, the manner of composition and other peculiaritis of the *astapadi* reveal it as a prabandha-song, yet the name *astapadi* as such does not occur among lists of prabandhas in sangita texts. But this is not surprising. The prabandha was a very large genre comprising a vast number of varieties. These were distributed into classes and sub-classes by theorists with their love for categorization. Not all forms could be listed and described, for that would have over-burdoned even the most ambitious sastric work. Sarngadeva divides prabandhas into three classes: *suda*, *ali* and *viprakirna* (lit. 'scattered', i.e. miscellaneous).[23] The third class included *tripadi*, *catuspadi* and *satpadi* and comprised a large corpus of forms. Of these Sarngadeva proposes to describe only a few well-known ones.[24] It is quite likely that the *astapadi* was one of the obscure and lesser-known forms of this class and came into prominence later, due, may be, to the attention bestowed upon it by the genius of Jayadeva.

Song-composers in early medieval times were called vaggeyakaras[25] i.e. creators of words and (accompanying) music. Vaggeyakaras were classified according to their talents and capabilities. The best of them was a master poet-cum-musician in whose compositions both the poem and its music were new and original and embodied the great creative genius (*prabhutapratibha*)[26] of the composer. Jayadeva, evidently, was a truly *pratibhavan vaggeyakara*.

22 *nrpaṁ vā yuvarājaṁ vā mahāśaktiguṇorjitam/mahādevīṁ bṛhaddevīṁ priyāṁ vā yośiduttamām/gāyennicchecchayā gātā yatra cittaṁ pravartate/arthalobhāttathānyeṣāṁ prabandho naiva gīyate. Mānasollāsa*, 4, 16, 562-563. '*priyāṁ vā yośidutta mām*' may, of course, refer to a king's paoourite and not the composer's beloved.

23 *S. R.* 4, 22-23.

24 *tato 'nye viprakīrṇāsitān prasiddhān katicid bruve. S, R.* 4, 28.

25 *vāṅ māturucyate, geyaṁ dhāturabhidhīyate/vācaṁ geyaṁ ca kurute yaḥ sa vāggeyakārakaḥ. S. R.* 3, 2.

26 *S. R.* 3, 6. Kallinātha quoting from another text explains pratibhā as: '*prajñāṁ navanavonmeṣaśālinīṁ pratibhāṁ viduḥ*'.

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There was no false modesty in Jayadeva. A vaggeyakara says Sarngadeva should put his name in the last movement of a prabandha song;[27] this Jayadeva has proudly done in all his *astapadis*. He often also adds an invitation to the rasikas and panditas to admire his sweet artistry.[28] The foremost vaggeyakaras, says Sarngadeva, are 'vastukavis (*S.R.* 3, 11)—this Kallinatha explains as meaning a kathakavi: a poet whose poem weaves a story. Jayadeva, indeed, claims that the subject of his prabandha is a *katha*—the tale of Krsna's loves—(*vasudevaratikelikathasametam/karoti jayadevakavih prabandham*).

Legends recorded about Jayadeva by Nabhadasa in his *Bhaktamala* and following him by Jayacandra, portray Jyadeva as a singing poet and a dancer dedicated to the service of Lord Krsna. He was, it is related, a simple, unlearned Brahmana who sang and danced before Lord Krsna out of spontaneous devotional fervour. Such a picture of Jayadeva's personality is, however, belied by the *Gitagovinda*, which is the creation of a supremely sophisticated man, a nagaraka, a vidagdha (in the language of Jayadeva's days), who was one of the best products of the polished urbane culture and refinement admired by the cultivated circles of the age. Jayadeva's poem later became extremely popular with the bhakti movement and the Mira-like image of a simple spontaneous bhakta that was the ideal of this movement, was transposed upon the memory of Jayadeva, quite transforming his character. But the picture of Jayadeva as a poet-musician is certainly rooted in fact. The *Sekasubhodaya* a 16th century collection of legends centring around the court of King Laksamanasena portrays Jayadeva in a vein quite diferent from the image of him as a devoted bhakta. Jayadeva is here presented as the court musician of Laksamanasena, Padmavati is his wife; both are reported to have supernatural powers in their music, powers such as those that are told of Tansen, Baiju Bawra and other renowned musicians (*Sekasubhodaya* Ch. 13).[29]

27 *S. R.* 4, 38; quoted ante p. 21. See footnote 4

28 *śrījayadevabhaṇitarativañcitakhaṇḍitayuativilāpam/śṛṇutasudhāmadhuraṁ vibudhā vibudhālayato' pi durāpam* : *Gītagovinda* sarga 8, last verse of *aṣṭapadī*. *Also* ; *śrījayadevabhaṇitamatilalitam sukhayatu rasikajanaṁ haricaritam*. *Gītagovinda sarga* 9, last versa of *aṣṭapadī*.

29 The text has been published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta 1963 with an Introduction and translation in English by Sukumar Sen.

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III

The prabandha form of music which Jayadeva, from all signs, appears to have adopted for his song, had, we have seen, a tradition antedating him. We have given examples from antecedents composed in the 12th century A.D., but the form itself was much older. If was already a well-established, well-regulated form when Matanga wrote his *Brhaddesi*, in the seventh or eight century.[30] The form was, in other words, a well-cultivated classical form by the period when Jayadeva sang in it.

However, the links that the *Gitagovinda* bears with its prabandha antecedents appear to have been overlooked by modern historians of Sanskrit literature. They have put forward the hypothesis that Jayadeva was inspired by immediate folk and rustic forms. Schroeder called the work a 'refined yatra; Winternitz has opined that 'rustic dance games with music served him (i.e. Jayadeva) as models for the songs which form the nucleus of the work'. This view is still the generally current view and needs to be revised in the light of sangita-works.

The prabandha is now an extinct form, but technical descriptions of its musical structure are to be found in sangita-texts. It stands out as a refined form of high art-music.

The musical movement of the prabandha had a four-part structure: it began with the *udgraha*, after which came *melapaka*, *dhruva* and *abhoga*. The structure has a distant parallel in the four-part dhrupad form which was born out of the prabandha.[31] Of the four basic movements of the prabandha structure, two—namely,

30 Matańga describes a host of forms in terms echoed and often quoted by later authorities. He begins a survey of prabandhas with the statement that they are innumerable and that he has chosen to describe only a prominent few :

deśīkāraprabando'yaṁ (?) haravaktrābhinirgatah|sasaṅkhyātāstu kathitā na jñāyate'lpabuddhibhi|teṣāṁ madhyāt samuddhṛtya yuktalakṣaṇalakṣitāni| śrīmataṅgamuniḥ prāha munīnuddiśya tadyathā. Bṛhaddeśī 376-377.

31 Nāyaka Gopāla, one of the earliest known dhrupad composers whose compositions, however transformed, have come down to us, has been referred to by Kallinātha (15th century A.D.) as a composer of prabandhas (see his *tīkā* on *S. R.* 4, 253-256). Nāyaka Gopāla is believed to have lived in the period of Alauddin Khilji (1296-1316 A.D.). The fact that Nāyaka Gopāla is associated both with the prabandha and the dhrupad is indicative of the link between the two forms of musical composition. Sadāraṅga, to whom we owe the present *Khayāl* style, had similar links with the older dhrupad form.

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melapaka and *abhoga*—did not occur in certain prabandhas[32], the other two, *udgraha* and *dhruva*, were essential.

The general prabandha structure was further analysed into six elements, metaphorically referred to as the six limbs of the prabandha-purusa.[33] These elements were: *svara*, *biruda*, *pata*, *tenaka* (also called *tennaka*, *tenna* or *tena* in some works), *pata* and *tala*.[34]

Svara, in this context, denoted the singing of sol-fa notations.[35] Simhabhupala[36] here explains : *svara* stands for the singing of the syllables, *sa ri ga ma pa dha ni* at their appropriate pitches".[37] This is what is known as singing of 'sargam's in modern musical parlance. *Pada* stood for the words of the sung text (*S.R.* 4, 16). *Tenaka*, signified the singing of the two syllables' *te na*' repeatedly and seems to have been the forebearer of our own '*nom tom*' vocables in singing. The syllables '*tena*' were believed to represent the *mahavakyas* like '*om tat sat*' and '*tatvamasi*' ; consequently, their employ during singing was considered auspicious.[38] *Pata* was the technical term for the different syllables conventionally employed to represent the different sounds produced on the drums–what we today call tabla or mrdanga 'bols'.[39] The term *tala* had the same meaning has it has today : i.e. a rhythmic cycle of numbered beats distributed in a particular pattern. *Biruda* meant a laudatory epithet. Its position and significance in the context of the prabanda is not clear.

32 *S. R.* 4, 11; See also Pārśvadeva as quoted by Simhabhūpāla on *S. R.* : 4, 1-19. Also Mānasollāsa, 4, 16, 440-443.

33 *S. R.* 4, 12-13.

34 *Ibid*.

35 *Svarahşad jādayasteşām vācakāh sarigādayah/svarābhviyakti samyuktāh svarasabdena kīrtitāh. S. R.* 4, 15-16.

36 He wrote his ţīkā entitled Saṅgītasudhākara on the *S. R.*, towards the close of the 14th century A.D.

37 *'svarā iti. şadjādayah svarāh pūrvamuktāh. teşām vācakāh sarigamapadhanīti varnāh tattatsvarābhivyaktisahitāh svarasabdenocyante* : Saṅgītasudhākara on *S. R.* 4, 1-9. Kallinātha's comments are revealing : *"svarasya ca sakalaprabhndhagatatve'pi şadjādivācakānām sarigādīnāmeva svarābhivyaktihetutvādasādhāranyenāngatvavyapadeśah*".

38 *teneti śabdastenah syānmangalārthaprakāśakah/om tatsaditi nirdeśāttatvamasyādivākyatah/taditi brahma tenāyam brahmanā mangalātmanā/lakşitastena teneti..... S. R.* 4, 17-18.

39 *pāto vādyākşarotkarah. S. R.* 4, 18.
Simhabhūpāla explains : *"vādyāksarānām dhigdhigadīnāmutkarah samūho, vādyādhyāye vakşyamānah, pāta ityucyate*",

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This brief technical acount of the prabandha form should, we hope, suffice to sketch before us the picture of its complexities. It was, obviously, a highly developed art-form and bears many suggestive parallels with present classical forms.

A confusion can perhaps arise here: The prabandha has been included by theorists in the category of *desi* music and *desi* has been defined as popular regional music unbound by rules. But one should not on this score be led to think that all so called *desi* music was of a folk or rustic character. After all, our own complex and subtle art-music is but *desi* music; for *desi* is, in sastric works, a category opposed to *marga*, a term which denoted the most ancient forms of music predating the medieval period and all *marga* forms were already extinct by the 16th century A.D. Our art-music also is thus *desi*. The term, then, need not necessarily signify a crude folk form.

There, certainly, must have been folk elements in the prabandha as there are in all cultivated art-forms. Both Indian and Western art-music contain demonstrable elements traceable to 'folk.' sources. Indeed living art-music keeps continuously being renewed through assimilation of influences that have a 'folk' derivation.[40] Prabandha, too, seems to have emerged out of *marga* forms due to a gradual absorption of new folk forms and in this sense it was *desi* music. But it certainly could not have been rustic music.As early as in the period of Matanga, the prabandha forms had acquired a standardised structure. And after Matanga too, we come accross sangita-texts separated from each other both in time and in space which describe the prabandha in an almost like language and manner. Authorities belonging to different times and regions such as Parsvadeva (ca. 12th century A.D., hailing from Western India), Nanyadeva (king of Mithila, early 12th century A.D.), Somesvara, (Calukya king of Kalyani reigning during the 1130s) and Sarngadeva (who wrote his *Sangitarathakara* in early 13th century A.D. at Devagiri, modern Daulatabad) have all described the prabandha in similar terms. It was no regional style. It was a form cultivated country-wide over the centuries. Formal rules had to be carefully obser-

40 Both the *thumrī* and the *tappā* form have developed in this way.

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ved in singing a prabandha.[41] Prabandhas were sung in Prakrita or the vernacular but also in Sanskrit, the 'cultivated' tongue. The vaggeyakaras who composed and sang prabandhas were honoured in the court of cultured kings.[42] The prabandha singer's art was an exacting art demanding control over many intricacies and a high degree of finesse and pefection. Critical appreciation was well-developed among discriminating listeners and sangita texts describe in detail the *dosas* to be avoided and extol the *gunas* to be cultivated.[43] Most of the observations made in these texts are still valid for classical music today.

IV

Jayadeva, we have seen, wanted his audience to admire both his musical and poetic achievement in the *Gitagovinda*. He must have belonged to that charmed group of vaggeyakaras who could compose both the poem and the music of a song with genius. His art received a ready response from his public and his fame spread far even in those troubled times. A verse of his has been quoted in a rock edict from Patan dating 1292 A.D.[44]

A living tradition treasures and preserves the creations that it deems as works of genius. Yet, though we have the *Gitagovinda* poem, its original music has been lost. There exist many current styles of *Gitagovinda* singing, especially in the east and south, but none can be traced back with any certainty to the medieval period. The earliest tadition may perahaps in some form have its source in the bhakti period, but even this cannot be really authenticated. Some manuscripts, however, may go back to an earlier period and these give the names of raga and tala for each *astapadi*. But there is no unanimity even in this very meagre musical information. Different

41 Someśvara, who was directly acquainted with prabandhas, observes : *vidhiryeṣāṁ prabandhānaṁ yādṛśaḥ parikīrtitaḥ / tālena bhāṣayā rāgaiḥ svaraiḥ pāṭaiśca tenakaiḥ/vidhinā tena te geyā na vidhiḥ pratilaṅghyate/vidhilope bhaveddoṣo na samyaglakṣaṇaṁ bhavet : Mānasollāsa* 4, 16, 556-557.

42 Music and dance performances were presided over by the king and he was expected to be a connoisseur versed in the mysteries of the art (*Mānasollāsa* 4, 16, 2-5). The best vāggeyakāras were given seats of honour with the nobility in a *saṅgīta-sabhā*. *Ibid.*, 4, 16, 12-13)

43 *S. R.* 3, 13-86; *Mānasollāsa* 4, 16 15-87 and other texts.

44 *History of Indian Literature*, Winternitz Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 136 and other standard works.

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manuscripts are seen to give different sets of raga-tala for many of the *astapadis*[45] and none of the manuscripts can be directly linked with Jayadeva or his immediate tradition.

Jayadeva's own music does not appear to have survived the poet himself for long. Indian music is almost entirely unnotated and was much more so before the modern period. Music is handed down in a *guru-sisya-parampara* and hence its forms need a much greater social stability for preservation than do manuscripts of the written word. The turbulent period which followed Jayadeva—who most probably was patronised by Laksamana Sena of Bengal towards the end of the 12th century A.D.—destroyed many forms and traditions; nothing to wonder if Jayadeva's music, too, was lost.

Certainly no authentic and generally accepted music attributed to Jayadeva himself was surviving when Rana Kumbha wrote his *Rasikapriya* tika on the *Gitagovinda* in the middle of the 15th century A.D.[46] Kumbha in his prologue laments the fact that no tika on the prabandha composed by Jayadeva exists which deals with all the aspects of the song. By this he meant that commentators had confined themselves to explaining the text alone. He proposes to fill in the existing gap by structurally indicating the *svara* and other six limbs of a prabandha (such as *pata, tena* etc.) as they should be musically arranged in the sung form of the poem.[47]

45 We have no direct access to manuscript material but we give a few striking examples from two printed texts of the *Gītagovinda* and the pāṭhabhedas they record. The texts are (1) the Nirṇaya Sāgara edition with the ṭīkās of Kumbha and Saṁkara Miśra, (2) and the Lalbhai Dalpatbhai, Bharatiya Sanskriti Vidyamandir, Ahmedabad, edition with the ṭikā of Mānāṅka. The different rāgas and tālas recorded for the 10th *aṣṭapadī* are : (a) rāga deśavarāḍī, paḍimaṭha tāla, (b) rāga deśākha, virādī (?) tāla, (c) rāga gauḍī, parimaṭha tāla (d) rāga deśavarāḍi, rūpaka tāla. The 16th *aṣṭapadī* has : (a) rāga desākha, gauḍivamaṭha (?) tāla, (b) rāga mālava gauḍa, (c) rāga deśākha, ekatālī tāla, (d) rāga deśavarādī, rūpaka tāla. The 17th has : (a) rāga bhairavī, yati tāla, (b) rāga bhairava, yati tāla, (c) rāga megha. The differences recorded here are apart from those given by Kumbha; he had chosen an entirely different set of rāgas and tālas for the aśṭapadīs,

46 Kumbha reigned from 1433 to 1468 A D. He seems to have composed the *Rasikapriyā* towards the end of his reign after having fought and won mauy battles. Verse 14 in the prologue to his ṭīka reads :

jitvā tu prthvīṁ kṛtvā tatpatīnkaradāyinaḥ/rādhāmādhavasārasya rasiko ramatedhunā.

47 *pratyajñāyi prabandho yo jayadevena dhīmatā/na tasya vidyate lakṣma sarvāṅgairupalakṣitam/ataḥ svarādibhih ṣaḍbhiraṅgaiḥ saṁyojya, tathyatāṁ nītvā, gītvā tadā hitvā kuṭikāstu pravartyate. Rasikapriyā*, prologue verses 14-15.

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But the music to which Kumbha here alludes, was not a traditionally current form, but one which he had himself composed to the *Gitagovinda*. Repeatedly he informs us that he himself was putting the text composed by Jayadeva to music. Beginning his tika on sarga two he says—using the musical parlance of his day—that he was adding his own *dhatu* to Jayadeva's *matu* : *dhatu* and *matu* meant in medieval times, what the words 'svara' (music) and 'bol' (words) mean today.[48] Kumbha makes the same assertion at the commencement of his comments on the third, fourth, fifth, eighth and other sargas.

Kumbha in his *Rasikapriya* often refers to and quotes from his tome on music, the *Sangitaraja*. It apears that Kumba had set the *Gitagovinda* to his own music in the prabandha idiom, even before he wrote the *Sangitaraja*, for in this text he says that he has composed 28 prabandha songs to the text of the *Gitagovinda*. He classifies these prabandhas as belonging to the *misrasuda* class and lists them with the words :

aṣṭāviṁśatirete' tra prabandhāḥ kṛṣṇabhūbhujā
svopajñagītagovindamiśrasūḍe prapañcitāḥ

(*Sangitaraja* 2, 4, 2, 29)

(These 28 prabandhas are arranged by Kumbha in the *Gitagovinda misrasuda*—a class of prabandhas—which he has himself composed) Kumbha had given to these prabandhas names inspired by Jayadeva such as: *samodadamodarabhramarapada, aklesakesavakunjaratilaka, amandamukundamakarandah* and such like.

Kumbha's comments can give us no idea of how Jayadeva had composed the prabandhas almost three hundred years earlier, but they can certainly give us some notion as to how the text of a song was moulded to the prabandha form. This notion, too, can be but a faint shadow of what Kumbha had musically achieved, for he does not give us any notations. And even if he had, they would have been

In the same passage Kumbha again says :
atha kumbhakarṇanṛpatiḥ stutvā natvā sarasvatīṁ devīm/svarapāṭatenakānāṁ karoti gumphaṁ sumānārtham. Ibid., verse 21. The printed text reads '*pāṭha*', in the second line; but the association with *tena* and *svara* clearly indicates that the reading should be pāṭa. Elsewhere Kumbha calls his ṭīkā a 'total ṭīkā' *kḷptavivṛti* and a ṭīkā which illumines the music of the *Gitagovinda* (See verse 7 in the *Rasikapriyā* on Sarga 3).

48 *S. R.* 3, 2; quoted ante p. 27 footnote 25.

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like an undecoded language to us, because the tonal values of notations found in old sangita-texts are far from being satisfactorily known.

Still, with these reservations in mind, let us take a few examples of how Kumbha had applied structural musical elements of the prabandha form to the *Gitagovinda*. This will at least give us an inkling of the nature of the prabandha idiom:

1. The second *astapadi* is the hymn beginning with :

śritakamalākucamaṇḍala dhṛtakuṇḍala e
kalitalalitavanamāla jaya jaya deva hare

In this song an alapa—a free improvised musical passage, devoid of words[49]—was to be effected with the last syllable 'e' of the first line (*atra ekaradiralapo jneyah*). The first line of every stanza in this *astapadi* ends with an *ekara* : all were to be followed by an alapa ; the purpose being to give a proper musical form and expression to the raga being sung.[50] The alapa employed was to be rich in the use of gamakas.[51]

In current classical music, too, the singing of a poetic text is interspered with purely musical pasages so as to give shape to the raga.

2. The celebrated *astapadi* beginning with '*lalitalavangalata-taparisilanakomalamalayasamire*'-was also to be interspersed with alapas rich in gamakas. At the end of the poem were sung the auspicious '*tena*' syllables followed by *pata-aksaras* or mrdanga bols, after which 'saragam's were sung.[52]

3. The fourth *astapadi* (*candanacarcitanilakalevarapitavasa-navanamali . .*) was set to raga gurjari and jhampa tala. At the end of its last musical movement, called *abhoga*, 'sargam's were

49 *rāgālāpanamālaptirbhūribhaṅgimanoharā / prayogādvā tathālāpasaṁjñā sākṣara-varjitā* : *Saṅgītarāja*, 2, 2, 3, 52.

50 *'e' iti etadante rāgapūrtyai gānavelāyāṁ pratipadaṁ etāvadpadam. Rasika-priyā*, *sarga* 1, *aṣṭapadī* 2.

51 *ālāpaṁ ca pratipadaṁ nānāgamakapeśalaḥ. Ibid.*

52 "*teneti maṅgalavācakam. tataḥ pāṭavādyākṣarotkaraḥ. tataḥ svaraḥ ṣadjādiḥ*". *Ibid.*, sarga 1, aṣṭapadī 3. also in the same context :

gamakālaptibhāyiṣṭhaḥ pūrṇakalpaḥ prakīrtitaḥ pūrtau punastena pāṭasvarāñci-tavirājjitaḥ mādhavotasavakamalākaranāmā prabandharāṭ. Ibid.

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sung, followed by mrdanga bols (i.e. *pata*) after which a few stanzas of the song were repeated.[53]

Similar formal elements occurred in the singing of other *astapadis*. These features of the prabandha idiom, remind us of our own approach in musically interpreting poetic texts in the classical style of singing and can help us imagine the expressive richness of the *astapadi* form.

53 *ābhogānte svaraḥ pāṭaḥ punaḥ padyāni kānicit; Ibid.*, sarga 2, *aṣṭapadī* 4.

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S.R. GOYAL*

GANDHIJI'S VIEW OF HISTORY

Gandhiji was not a philosopher of history, but he occasionally reflected on the main problems of the philosophy of history in the light of his fundamental convictions. He inherited from his family, especially his mother, a strong faith in the 'self-existent, all knowing living force which inheres every other force known to the world'. He says: "I believe in *advaita*. I believe in the essential unity of man and for that matter of all that lives. The inner oneness pervades all life. The forms are many, but the informing spirit is one". Obviously like Sankarite Vedantists, he fundamentally believed in an Undifferentiated Absolute but like theistic interpreters of Vedanta, he had faith in a personal God also. According to him, "He is a personal God to those who need His personal presence. He is embodied to those who need His touch".[2] But his definition of personal God was quite different from the usual one. He says: "I don't believe God to be a personal being in the sense that we are personal beings. I understand God to be universal Law. God, however, cannot be described in His fulness. We human beings describe Him in our own vocabulary. God is the Law as well as the Lawgiver. The two are one."[3]

According to Gandhiji God is identical with Truth. "Truth is God—nothing else, nothing less. The nearest word answering to Truth in Sanskrit is *sat*. *Sat* means being. God alone is *Sat*. He alone is, nothing and no one else is. Everything else is illusion. *Satya* means *Sat*. Truth alone is in the world, nothing else is.

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1 Quoted by C. S. Shukla in *Gandhiji's View of Life*, p. 51.

2 *Young India*, March 5, 1925.

3 Quoted by C. S. Shukla, *op. cit.*, p. 49

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This is easy enough to understand. Then what is truth ? For us it is a relative term. Absolute Truth is God. Whatever we understand by God is implied in Truth".[4] But "this truth is not only truthfulness in word, but truthfulness in thought also, and not only the relative truth of our conception, but the absolute truth, the Eternal principle that is God".[5] He also gave the name Ram to his God. But his Ram was not the epic hero, the son of Dasaratha. He says: "My *Ram*, the *Ram* of our prayers is not the historical *Ram*, the son of Dasaratha, the king of Ayodhya. He is the eternal, the unborn, the one without the second. Him alone I worship".[6]

Theological Determinism

Gandhiji's philosophy of history is the natural outcome of his conception of the spiritual unity of all existence. As he believed that God or Ram or Truth is the Ultimate Reality and supreme determinant of things and movements, his philosophy of history may be called theological determinism. "Nothing can happen but by His will expressed in his eternal changeless law which is He".[7] It is only through the great prophets that He provides a glimpse of that eternal Law. But determinism in Gandhiji did not degenerate into fatalism. He applied determinism only to the ultimate explanation of things. In worldly affairs with which history is concerned, he pleaded for strenuous activism. His own life was full of ceaseless activity in the service of mankind. He says: "I could not be leading a religious life unless I identified with the whole of mankind, and that I would not do unless I took part in politics. The whole gamut of man's activities today constitutes an indivisible whole; you cannot divide social, economic, political and purely religious work into watertight compartments".[8] And further "My national service is the part of my training for freeing my soul from the bondage of flesh".[9] In this respect he was obviously influenced by the philosophy of the *Gita*.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 48
5 M. K. Gandhi,, *My Experiments With Truth*, p. 6
6 *Harijan*, April 28. 1946
7 Quoted by V. P. Verma, *Modern India Political Thought*, p. 415
8 *Harijan*, December 24, 1938
9 *Young India*, April 3, 1924

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Gandhiji's explanation of the empirical world *i.e.* his interpretation of history as we generally understand it, is also based on his belief in God and the spiritual unity of all-existence. "I subscribe to the belief or the philosophy that all life in its essence is one, and that the humans are working consciously or unconsciously, towards the realisation of that identity. This belief requires a faith in a living God who is ultimately the Arbiter of our fate. Without Him not a blade of grass moves".[10] This view is quite akin to the philosophy of history of the ancient Hindus and Christians and rejects the idealistic as well as materialistic interpretations of history propounded by Hegel and Marx respectively.

History : Progressive unfoldment of Ahimsa

According to Mahatma Gandhi history is nothing but the unfoldment and progressive vindication of the twin principles of truth and non-violence. As we have seen he does not deny the existence of empirical world, but asserts that behind the changes and appearances of the material world is the immaterial conciousness or soul-force. These "two opposing forces are wholly different in kind, the one moral and spiritual, the other physical and material. The one infinitely superior to the other which by its very nature has an end."[11] Therefore to him the process of evolution means the struggle between good and evil, non-violence and violence, truth and untruth. "Man must choose either of the two courses, the upward or the downward, but as he has the brute in him, he will more easily choose the downward course than the upward, especially when the downward is presented to him in a beautiful garb."[12] "We were born with brute strength", declares Gandhiji, "but we were born to realize God who dwells in us. That indeed is the privilege of man and distinguishes him from the brute creation."[13] Further, "we were, perhaps, all originally brutes. I am prepared to believe that we have become men by a slow process of evolution from the brute."[14] And further still, "Non-violence is the law of our species, as violence is

10 Quoted by M. Prasad, *Social Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi*, p 138.
11 *Harijan*, February, 10, 1946.
12 *Ibid*, February 1, 1935.
13 *Ibid*.
14 *Ibid*. April 2, 1938.

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the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute, and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher Law—to the strength of the spirit."[15] Therefore according to Gandhiji whenever men act in accordance with the law of ahimsa, there is progress; decline comes when this law is broken. "If we turn our eyes", he says, "to the time of which history has any record down to our own time, we shall find that man has been steadily progressing towards *Ahimsa*. Our remote ancestors were cannibals. Then came a time when they were fed up with cannibalism and they began to live on chase. Next came a stage when man was ashamed of leading the life of a wandering hunter. He, therefore, took to agriculture and depended principally on mother-earth for his food. Thus from being a nomad he settled down to civilized stable life, founded villages and towns, and from member of a family he became member of a community and nation. All these are signs of progressive *ahimsa* and diminishing *himsa*".[16] To sum up, the history of man is really the record of even working of the forces of love or of the soul "and human society is a ceaseless growth, an unfoldment in terms of spirituality". Therefore, the history of civilization should be studied not in terms of class-struggle but in the light of progressive non-violence and the standard of a particular civilization should be judged by the degree of non-violence present in it.

Gandhiji was not deterred in his faith in the progressive vindication of non-violence even by the modern strifes and struggles between individuals and nations. "The present war", Gandhiji says, "is the saturation point in violence. It spells to my mind also its doom. Daily I have testimony of the fact that *ahimsa* was never before appreciated by mankind as it is today. I am sure that out of this orgy of violence the people will learn the lesson of non-violence."[17]

Criticism of Marxian Theory of History

Gandhiji was highly critical of the Marxian theory of the economic interpretation of history. He conceded that Marx had

15 *Young India*, August 11, 1920
16 *Harijan*, August 11, 1940
17 *Ibid.*

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discovered a law controlling the material world and found out the reason of economic conflict in the society. He also accepted that until the means of production will be put in the hands of the proletariat, economic conflict cannot be got rid of completely. But he believed that fundamentally economic conflict is a psychological phenomenon and, therefore, emphasised the importance of the spinning-wheel or *Charkha* and the use of *swadeshi* as the means of socio-economic revolution. Further, he did not consider economic factor to be the source of all evils in the society. He maintained that it is not correct "to trace the origin of all wars to economic causes. What were the causes of the last war! Insignificant ones. When the present War started, Chamberlain, who had till then bent all his energies on averting a war, changed his opinion overnight, because presumably he was afraid of losing the support of his party if at that stage he sought to keep England out of the War. A better statesman in his place, I believe, would have succeeded in averting the war even then. Was not Helen the cause of the Trojan War! But why go so far? The Rajput wars, which belong to modern history, had never their origin in economic causes".[18] Dr. Radhakrishnan fully subscribes to this view of Gandhiji. He says: "History, however, is not a mere record of class struggle. Wars between nations have been more frequent and violent than domestic struggles, and in the earlier history of mankind tribes and towns fought with one another. The feeling of nationality is stronger than class consciousness in the present war. All through history the rulers and the ruled, the rich and the poor, fought side by side against the enemies of the country. We hate foreign workers more than we do our own capitalist employers. There are wars of religion, such as the wars for and against the Reformation which went on in Europe for two centuries....Marxists, with a few exceptions, are fighting today for the capitalist states to which they happen to belong....The conflicts between the Protestants and Catholics in Ireland, are not manifestations of class struggle. There are class struggles and civil wars, but there are wars of religions and nations also. The latter have been more decisive for human evolution. Again it is not historically

18 Quoted by C. S. Shukla, *op. cit.*, p. 113

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correct to argue that war is the inevitable consequence of capitalism ...To represent history as a series of internal struggles, to ignore the forces of race, religion and patriotism, is to oversimplify the complex problem of human evolution".[19] The famous British thinker G.K. Chesterton has also opined that "it is putting it too feebly to say that the history of man is not only economic. Man would not have any history if he were only economic. The need for food is certainly universal, so universal that it is not even human... ...The economic motive is not merely inside all history; it is actually outside all history. It belongs to Biology or the science of Life; that is, it concerns things like cows that are not so very much alive. Men are far too much alive to get into the science of anything; for them we have made the art of history. To say that human actions have depended on economic support is like saying that they have depended on having two legs. It accounts for action, but not for such varied action; it is a condition, but not a motive; it is too universal to be useful...There would be no history if there were only economic history. All the historical events have been due to the twists and turns given to the economic instinct by forces that were not economic".[20] To sum up with Dr. Radhakrishnan: "The emphasis on the importance of economic conditions is correct; the suggestion that they are exclusively determinant of history is incorrect".[21]

Role of Religion in History

Gandhiji did not agree with the Marxists on the question of the role which religion has played in the history of mankind. According to Marxists, religion is 'a gigantic deception', 'the opium of the poor' and 'an aspect of spiritual oppression'. On the other hand Gandhiji believed that religion is the rudder of the ship of life. "It sustains a person as nothing else does. It is rock-bottom fundamental morality. When morality incarnates itself in a living man it becomes religion, because it binds, it holds, it sustains him in the hour of trial. My life is governed by religion. I have said that even

19 S. Radhakrishnan, *Religion and Society*, p. 38-9.
20 G. K. Chesterton, *A Miscellany of Men*, p. 60-3.
21 Radhakrishnan, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

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my politics are derived from my religion".[22] Further he says: "the practical rejection of religion with which Marxism is now identified seems to be needless. Simply because our interests are social, it does not follow that we should cut ourselves off from the spiritual. Spiritual awareness and social efficiency are not only consistent but also complementary. To ignore the spiritual is to restrict one's capacity for social work."[23] Here it is essential to remember the nature of Gandhiji's religion. He called himself a Hindu and claimed that he was in quest of *moksha*. But his Hinduism was not sectarian Hinduism. He was above the clutches of cults, rituals and ceremonies. His Hinduism was made up of those moral laws which bind men all over the world. The true religious attitude, according to Gandhiji, meant a relentless search after truth and voluntary fulfilment of one's own duties—*svadharma*. He was a great believer in the theory of *nishkama karmayoga* or the disinterested pursuit of one's obligations propounded in the *Gita*.

Gandhiji did not appreciate the Marxian theory of class-struggle and the idea of the victory and dictatorship of proletariat. Instead he believed in 'the good of all' or *sarvodaya*. The ideal of *sarvodaya* is the natural outcome of his belief in the spiritual unity of all existence and can be traced back to the theory of *sarvabhutahita* propounded in the *Gita*. It implies a perpetual fight for the welfare of all living beings. It is, thus, fundamentally different and superior to not only the Marxian theory of class-struggle but also to the majoritarianism of Locke and the concept of greatest good of the greatest number advocated by Bentham.

22 Quoted by C. S. Shukla, *op. cit.*, p. 117
23 *Ibid.*, p. 119

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GIRIJA SHANKAR*

THE SOCIALISTS AND THE QUIT INDIA RESOLUTION OF 1942

In accordance with their Marxist professions the socialists who had organized themselves in the Congress Socialist Party† within the Congress since 1934 believed that power would not and could not be transferred by the British willingly and independence would have to be seized from them only by some kind of "direct action". And what better opportunity could they get for seizure of power from the British than at a time when England was involved in a deadly conflict with a powerful enemy? The Congress right-wing leadership, including Gandhi on the other hand believed that Britain would voluntarily grant independence to India, and only a peaceful non-violent although intense mass agitation would be necessary to help make up its mind. This difference in outlook about the nature of British imperialism in India, between the Socialists and the official Congress leadership was the basic cause of all the conflicts between the Socialists and the Congress since the formation of C.S.P. in 1934 to the attainment of independence.

With the outbreak of the War in Europe in September 1939, there was a gradual rapprochment between the C.S.P. and the Congress on many issues of economic and constitutional nature. But the point of conflict regarding the nature of struggle against the British Govt. assumed prominence in the new context. The burning problem now was whether to co-operate with the British in the hope of receiving a magnanimous grant of independence in the post-War period or to seize the opportunity when Britain was in an un-

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toward position. The first mentioned tendency was visible in the thinking of the right-wing Congress leadership and due to an antipathy with the Fascist powers some leftist leaders of the Congress like Nehru also sympathised with this stand. But the C.S.P. leadership now strongly pleaded to utilize the situation and strike at the British when they were in trouble. This controversy eclipsed all other issues between the C.S.P. and the Congress till the final decision by the Congress for a Quit India movement was taken.

The passing of the Quit India Resolution was however, preceded by a long period of the efforts on the part of the socialists to persuade the Congress and of an attitude of vacillation on the part of the Congress. The story of taking a definite position in case of war, in fact, goes back to the year 1927, when at the instance of the nascent left-wing in the Congress led by Nehru, the Congress at its Madras session adopted a resolution on "War Danger" and declared that in the event of the British entering an "imperialist War", it will be the duty of the people of India to refuse to take part in such a war or to cooperate with them in any way whatsoever".[1] But this resolution related to an "imperialist war" only. But what about any other armed conflict involving Britain, which might not be called an imperialist war but could offer an opportunity to the nationalists ? After the rise of Hitler in Germany, Nehru and some other left-wing Congress leaders not clear in their minds whether they would utilize any such opportunity for furtherance of the cause of independence if Britain happened to be involved in a conflict with the Fascist powers. But the stand of the Socialists was clear. This party was for utilization of such an opportunity presented by "any war".

At the very first Conference of the All India Congress Socialist Party at Bombay in October 1934, the Party favoured a clear, firm and uncompromising policy towards the war and urged the Congress to adopt the same. The party resolution adopted on this occasion opposed participation of India, on the side of Britain, in "any war" in which the British Government might be involved and urged the Congress to undertake forthwith the "preparation" of the entire

1 *Indian National Congress Resolutions,* Forty second session, Madras, December 26, 27 & 28 (Madras, AICC 1928) p. 3. Nehru has complained in his autobiography that these resolutions 'were either not understood or were distorted to mean something else' *An Autobiography* 1962, p. 167.

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Indian nation to resist "actively" utilization of Indian men, money and resources and to utilize such a crisis for the winning of Swaraj.[2] The plan of action of the Party also included a directive for the "active opposition" to all the imperialist Wars, utilization of such a crisis for the intensification of the national struggle and a firm refusal to enter at any stage into negotiations on the constitutional issues with the British Government.[3] The C.S.P. stuck to this stand with marked firmness. Holding of anti-war meetings formed an important part of the C.S.P. activities since its formation. To the Socialists it was evident that a major European war was inevitable and since it could not be averted, advantage should be taken of it to achieve independence.[4]

During the years, following the formation of their Party, the Socialists made consistent efforts to get a resolution on War-resistance (according to their own concept) passed by the Congress. But the Congress did not accept their view-point. The utmost extent to which the Congress could go was to adopt a resolution on opposition to an imprialist war and reiterate the contents of the "War Danger" resolution of the Madras Session of 1927, at the instance of Nehru, on the occasion of Lucknow session in 1936. This resolution expressed fear that "in such a war an attempt should inevitably be made to exploit India to her manifest disadvantage for the benefit of British imperialism" and therefore, it warned the people of the country "against this danger" and declared the Congress "opposition to the participation in any imperialist war".[5]

The gap between the C.S.P. and the Congress view points were clear. The C.S.P. stood for utilizing opportunity offered by "any war" but the Congress stand was a qualified one. It remained only in the shape of a warning to the people and not a determination to resist the war. Again even this stand of the Congress was not recommended for "any war" as was the C.S.P. position but only for an imperialist war. This qualified stand of the Congress, as later

2 *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. II, 1934, p. 296.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 296.

4 *All India Congress Socialist Party, Second Annual Conference* (Bombay, AICSP, 1936), Report of the General Secretary, pp. 33-34.

5 *Indian National Congress Resolutions* (Allahabad, AICC, 1936), p. 76.

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events showed, implied the possibility of an interpretation that there could be a war in which Britain was involved, and yet it might not be an imperialist war. The possibility of co-operation with Britain was thus left open so far as the Congress was concerned. Nehru's exhortation, from the presidential chair, at the Lucknow session of the Congress that "Progressive forces in each country ally themselves to fight the Fascist menace", and his statement that "we offer our full co-operation in their struggle against imperialism and Fascist reaction for we realize that the struggle is common one,[6] implied possibility of a conflict between the Socialist and the Congress points of view over the interpretation of the nature of a war when it would actually break out.

To the Socialists, the Congress hesitation to adopt their own stand in clear terms was as a result of "lack of appreciation of the international situation", and was deplored by the C.S.P. general Secretary, Jayaprakash Narayan as an "outstanding failure" of the Congress".[7]

When the War broke out in September 1939, the Socialists wanted to utilize the opportunity and were determined to strike. But the Congress adopted an attitude of caution and hesitancy. This attitude of the Congress leadership is described as one of "non-embarrassment".[8] This was because of the fact that although this Congress was committed by its previous resolutions to an anti-war policy and civil disobedience movement in the event of an imperialist war, it, at the same time professed sympathy with the cause of the Allies vis-a-vis Fascist powers. Most of the old Congress leaders were prepared to give moral support to the Allies and wished them victory.[9] But the socialists who rigidly clung to their previous "anti-war" and "war-resistance" resolve protested against this mentality prevalent among the Congress leadership. They co-operated with the Forward Bloc and other left-wing groups to promote "non-compromise", "anti-war", and "war resistance" movements

6 *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. I, 1936, p, 277.

7 *All India Congress Socialist Party, Second Annual Conference* (Bombay: All India Congress Socialist Party, 1936), p. 15.

8 Horace Alexander, *India Since Cripps*, 1944, p. 35.

9 Amba Prasad, *Indian Revolt of* 1942, 1958, p. 16.

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and to fight any tendency of cooperation with the British Government.

When the AICC met in October 1939 to consider the situation arising out of the war and India having been made a participant in the war without the consent of the people, the Socialists sought expunction of any provision of negotiation with the British from the official resolution and urged putting into "immediate effect" the earlier Congress resolution on War danger. Jayaprakash Narayan spoke for the Socialist sponsored amendment in the debate. Nehru opposed it and defended the provision of negotiation with the British on the plea that the Congress stood for "security" and that if it chose to support against aggression, it did not mean support to imperialism but to the principle of "collective action". The Socialist amendment was ultimately defeated".[10]

Britain however did not respond satisfactorily to the Congress gesture of "non-embarrassment". The Congress consequently directed its ministries in the provinces to resign and withdrew its members from the central legislature.[11] The Socialists became "jubilant' at these developments since they had been strongly opposed to any cooperation with the Act of 1935.[12] They also now became hopeful that their long awaited non-co-operation with the British Government had at last begun. But the working Committee which took these decisions also warned against any "hasty action in the shape of civil dis-obedience, strikes and the like". It decided to wait and see and "to take further steps whenever necessity arose".[13] In fact, at this stage even the Congress threat of civil disobedience was only a bargaining device meant only to extract from the British as much substance of independence as possible. The Congress, by and large, maintained this attitude till August 1942. When the talks with the British Government were in progress, the Congress leaders expressed their willingness to aid in the prosecution of the War, but when the talks failed, they tended to mobilize the masses for resistance.

10 *The Statesman*, October 12, 1939.

11 Amba Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

12 *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. II, 1939, pp. 239-327.

13 Sitaramayya, *History of the Indian National Congress*, 1946, Vol II, p. 141.

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The Socialist leadership, however, believed that any such talks with the British Government would ultimately fail. They, therefore, along with other leftists continued to press Congress for initiation of a non-cooperation civil disobedience movement. Gandhi became irritated at this clamour and made it clear on the eve of the Ramgarh session of the Congress (April 1940) that such tactics of the Socialists would not prompt him to start a movement. He wrote about this demand of the leftists and commented in an angry tone that he "cannot be hustled into precipitating the struggle. They err grieviously who think that I can ever declare civil disobedience, having been driven thereto by the so-called leftists".[14]

But the British Government again did not respond to the satisfaction of the Congress. Failure of the negotiations between the Congress and the Viceroy, the propaganda carried on by the Forward Bloc against Congress inaction and the mounting pressure of the Socialists within the Congress made the Congress leadership realize that the policy of "non-embarassment" or any proposal for cooperation would lead to the decline of Congress prestige in the eyes of the masses. Hence they began to modify their position. The Congress session at Ramgarh (1940) which took place in these circumstances took a different and bold stand. The Congress here, declared in clear terms that Britain was carrying on war "fundamentally for imperialist ends" and therefore it expressed its decision to completely dissociate itself "directly or indirectly" from the prosecution of war. Congress-men were instructed not to help the British with "men or money or material". It was asserted that complete independence and nothing short of it was to be accepted by the people of India and "dominion or any other status" "within the orbit of imperialism" was flatly rejected. This Congress also accepted the leftist plea that only "a constituent assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage" would be recognized the sole representative body of Indian nationhood". It also conceded the C.S.P. viewpoint that any prospect of achievement of independence would rest on launching of a civil disobedience movement and in the event of such a movement being started the Congress authorized the All India

14 Tendulkar, *Mahatma*, 1962-1963, Vol. V. p. 253.

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Congress Committee, and in case of this being necessary to the Working Committee, "to take steps to implement the resolution, as the Commttee concerned may deem necessary.[15]

This time the Congress resolution had no such "loop holes" against which the Socialists had complained in connection with previous resolutions. This time, the Congress position as reflected in the Ramgarh Congress resolution was almost the same as that of the C.S.P.[16] But the Socialists knew that there was always a gap between a Congress resolution and its actual implementation. Having pushed the Congress to adopt a resolution the socialists, therefore, now set themselves to the task of moving the Congress into action. Gandhi was the key person in the Congress organization. The socialists, therefore, sought to convince him of the necessity of launching "immediate satyagrah".[18] But Gandhi remained unmoved and replied "we should wait till the heat of the battle in the heart of the Allied countries subsides and the future is clearer than it is. We do not seek independence out of Britain's ruin. That is not the way of non-violence"[18]

At this time, the Allied position on the war fronts was fast deteriorating. Britain had received a definite setback in Norway. Germany had launched an invasion on Holland, Belgium and Luxemburg. As a consequence, there was a reorganization of the government in England. Churchill replaced Chamberlain as Prime-Minister and Amery succeeded Zetland as the Secretary of State for India.

Amery declared in the Commons on May 23, 1940, that India's attainment of free and equal partnership in the Commonwealth was the goal of the British policy. Elucidating his point Amery said that the promised reconsideration of the new constitution implied discussion and not dictation and the government were anxious to do all they could to promote an agreement among Indians as to the shape

15 *Indian National Congress Bulletin*, No. 1, April 1940 (Allahabad : AICC 1943), pp. 4-5

16 It was also on the occassion of the Ramgarh Session of the Congress that Jayaprakash Narayan's "Picture of Swaraj" drawn up on socialist lines was approved by Gandhi. Vide Jayaprakash Narayan *Towards Struggle*, 1946, pp. 240-244.

17 Rammanohar Lohia's letter to Gandhi 'Immediate Satyagraha, *Harijan*', Vol. VIII, No. 16, June 1, 1940, pp. 151-152.

18 M-K. Gandhi 'Not yet', *Harijan*, Vol. VII, No. 16, June 1, 1949, p. 148.

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it should take.[19] This statement gave a fresh hope to the Congress leaders that Britain was willing to end the deadlock. Voicing his reaction to Amery's declaration, Gandhi remarked "I will leave no stone unturned to bring about a peaceful and honourable settlement of the present deadlock".[20] The Allied cause suffered more when France fell in June 1940. The Congress Working Committee meeting soon in the first week of July, 1940 offered, at the instance of Rajgopalachari, to form a national Government at the centre commanding confidence of all elected members of the central legislature to co-operate in the War. It declared that if these measure were adopted, the Congress will be able to throw its full weight for the defence of the country.[21] This resolution was later ratified by the AICC at Poona on July 28, 1940. This development which was in effect, a complete reversal of the position taken by the Congress at Ramgarh shocked the Socialists. They attacked it as a "surrender to imperialism". Jayaprakash Narayan in his letter dated July 20, 1940, from Hazaribagh Central Prison to Nehru complained that "Rajaji has stabbed us in the back" and he sought him "to lead the opposition in the AICC and the country". He also requested him to resign from the Congress if the resolution is implemented and "form another political organisation to fulfil the remaining part of the political task".[22] Nehru, however, supported Rajgopalachari on "international consideration", although not without misgivings.[23]

The British government not only did not accept the Congress offer but also began to curtail freedom of speech and other civil liberties in the name of war efforts. A large number of Congress workers were arrested on charges of sedition and sent to jails. Soon a situation arose which could not but endanger the very existence of the Congress. Even Gandhi admitted "the virtue of self-restraint now becomes vice because it will kill the very spirit which is exercising that restraint.[24] It was in these circumstances that in October

19 Tendulkar, *op. cit.*, Vol. V., p. 281-282
20 *Ibid.*, p. 282
21 Sitaramayya., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 197
22 Nehru, *A Bunch of old Letters* 1960, p. 399
23 Brecher, *Nehru-A political Biography*, 1959, p. 263
24 Cited in P.D. Kaushik's *Congress Ideology and Programme*, 1964, p. 242

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1940, Gandhi launched an "Individual Satyagraha" or "Quality Satyagraha" in which selected individuals having some specific qualifications were allowed to offer satyagraha and break laws relating to restrictions on freedom of speech and make anti-war effort speeches. Within a short time most of the leaders of the Congress except Gandhi were arrested and for some time the Congress in effect ceased to function. The Socialists could not be satisfied with this limited movement which was causing more harm to the Congress than to the British. The C.S.P. workers were subjected to a more vigorous repression because of the Party's consistency in anti-war approach than other members of the Congress. In November 1941, the Party General Secretary reported that about ninety percent of the C.S.P. members were in jails, yet "we are not at all satisfied with it (i.e. Individual Satyagarha). We want it to be intensified into a mass struggle for freedom to which every Indian could make his contribution.[25]

The ineffectiveness of the "Individual Satyagraha" to move the British government and Party's inability to turn the movement into a mass struggle caused a serious shift in the Congress Socialist stand from a general policy of non-violent movement to that of violent tactics. This was revealed in an incident in October, 1941, when some papers were seized from Jayaprakash Narayan, then a security prisoner in Deoli Detention Camp, while he was attempting to pass them over to his wife who had come for an interview with him.[26] These papers written by Jayaprakash Narayan himself were intended to be handed over to Purushottam Tricumdas, then General Secretary of the C.S.P. and contained instruction for reorganization of the Party by bringing members of such terrorist organizations as the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Hindustan Republican Socialist Association. These papers, which were subsequently published by the British Government, contained a plan for formation of an "underground wing" of the C.S.P. which would acquire funds through "old methods".[27] The documents also revealed a programme of secret and avowedly illegal revolutionary activities, "A Kisan struggle

25 *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. II, 1941, pp. 30-31

26 Home Deptt. F.N. 8/15, 1941 Political (I)

27 This was interpreted by the Government as 'political dacoities'.

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in selected areas" or doing something in the nature of action in contrast with the "farce of Satyagraha" was strongly advocated.[28] No positive results came out of this incident as the papers were immediately confiscated and precautionary measures taken by the government. But the incident illustrated a growing C.S.P. inpatience and frustration with the limited Individual Satyagraha movement.

In December 1941, all of a sudden, all Individual Satyagrahis were set free. But the C.S.P. leaders having been convicted under different laws were not released. In January 1942, Japan's attack on Pearl Harbour made the War global. The Japanese soon advanced upto Burma. When Rangoon fell on March 7, 1942, Prime Minister Churchill announced on March 11, 1942 in the House of Commons that Sir Stafford Cripps was being deputed to Delhi with new proposals in an effort to break the deadlock.[29] Nehru had already stated immediately after his release that "there is no doubt that the progressive forces of the world are aligned with the group represented by the United States, Britain, Russia and China, but India could not participate actively until its freedom was recognized.[30] The atmosphere, was once again congenial for negotiations. Cripps came to India and held talks in March and April, 1942. Cripps, however could offer a plan of giving India Dominion Status only after the War. There could, therefore, be no compromise. The failure of the Cripps Mission spread a wave of bitterness throughout India and left for the Congress no option but to use the ultimate weapon of civil disobedience.

These developments coincided with the collapse of British defence in the South East Asia and India was confronted with what seemed to be in immediate danger of Japanese invasion. This might well receive enthusiastic welcome from the Indians, especially in view of the fact that Subhas Bose was leading the Indian National Army which was advancing with the Japanese. Nehru, once again, took the position that the Congress should aid Britain, this time even unconditionally and throw full weight of its influence against the

28 Home Deptt. F.N. 8/15/1941 political (I)
29 Brecher., *op. cit.*, p. 277
30 *Ibid.*, p. 274

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"defeated mentality"[31] and not to embarrass the British war efforts in India rather to utilize our own".[32] He even suggested organising guerillas to fight the Japanese invasion.[33] But this time Nehru was alone or almost alone. The majority of the Congress leaders now supported the view of Gandhi that "the presence of the British in India is an invitation to Japan to invade India. Their withdrawal would remove the bait".[34] In an atmosphere when the general public was in a mood to welcome the Japanese invasion rather than to tolerate the British domination, Nehru had to climb down.[35] Gandhi made the last desperate appeal to Britain to grant independence. But he was also simultaneously preparing for a civil disobedience movement. In April 1942 after Cripps departure, Gandhi for the first time hit upon the idea of "orderly and timely British withdrawal from India in a letter to Horace Alexander and Miss Agatha Harrison, which he had not till then discussed with any one.[36] He gave a full public expression to this idea in Harijan of April 26, 1942 and wrote that India's "real safety and Britain's too lie in, orderly and timely withdrawal from India".[37] Nehru and Azad did not agree with Gandhi in the beginning but "the logic of facts overwhelmed them".[38] The background was now prepared for a Quit India Resolution by the Congress.[39]

Meeting in July 1942, the Congress Working Committee regretted that hopes of a settlement arising from the pursuit of the policy of "non-embarrassment" had been "dashed to pieces", and expressed the desire to avoid the experiences of countries conquered

31 Brecher, *op. cit.*, p. 283

32 Winston Churchill, *The Second World War*, 1951, Vol. p. 196

33 Brecher., *op. cit*, 283, Taking the cue Edward Thompson made a suggestion to the Secretary of State for India to make use of the revolutionary leader Jayaprakash Narayan, a follower of Nehru to organize "amphibious guerilla war-fare against the Japanese in the Sunderbans". But the idea was found impracticable. Home Deptt. F No. 21/18/42-polttical (I)

34 Winston Churchill, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV. p. 196

35 Brecher,. *op. cit.*, p. 285

36 Tendulkar., *op. cit.*, Vol, VI. p. 75

37 *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76

38 Gandhi's correspondence with the Government, 1942-1944 (1945), Gandhi's letter to Viceroy, dated 14-8-1942, p. 20

39 Sitarammayya., *op. cit.*, Vol. II pp. 340-342

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by Japan and to resist the Japanese invasion. The resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee while appealing to the British to withdraw from India made it clear that the Congress had no desire to embarrass to hamper the Allied war efforts and that it had no objection to "stationing of the armed forces of the Allies in India, should they so desire in order to ward off and resist Japanese and other aggression". It was also made clear that the withdrawal of the British power from India with goodwill would result in establishing a provisional government in India, representative of all important sections of the people of India. The resolution for the first time contained a threat that "should however, the appeal fail, the Congress will then be reluctantly compelled to utilize all the non-violent strength it might have gathered since 1929, for the vindication of political rights and liberty."

This was in effect an ultimatum to the British Government and the Congress Working Committee had now at last taken a position for which the Socialists were clamouring for long. As the issue was of far-reaching importance for the people of India and the United Nations, the Working Committee referred the final decision to the AICC scheduled to be held at Bombay on August 7 and 8, 1942.

Committee anticipating British aintransigence, the final approval of the Congress Working Committee resolution by the AICC, and early launching of the civil disobedience movement by the Congress, the Socialists made a Comprehensive preparation. Their plan included open defiance of ordinances and Defence of India Act, widespread anti-recruitment propaganda, the boycott of British goods, organization of peasant agitation and fomentation of general strikes among the workers. The C. S. P. Excutive Committee had already appointed a War sub-committee" with headquaters in Bombay and branches in Lucknow, Allahabad, Kanpur, Calcutta, Madras and Lahore in furtherance of the Party programme of War-resistance.[40]

Thus the Socialists were mentally and organizationally prepared for the stuggle in advance but Gandhi and some Congress leaders were still hopeful for a resumption of negotiations with the

40 Home Deptt. F.N. 7-7-1939 political (I)

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Government. British intransigence, however, decided the issue and pushed the Congress to take a position as was desired by the Socialists. So, when the AICC met at Bombay on August 7 and 8, 1942, the "Quit India" resolution was moved by Nehru. This resolution boldly demanded "immediate ending of the British rule in India" and declared that" no future promise or guarantees can affect the present situation or meet that peril". The Congress, this time, also accepted the Socialist position that the British would not accept any appeal for a peaceful settlement and hardened its attitude and did not repeat the Working Committee's earlier offer of "stationing of armed forces of the Allies in India". The most important thing, in this resolution, for the Socialists, was that it sanctioned "for the, vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence, the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on widest possible scale. The AICC resolution also accepted the Socialist plea in regard to the future set-up of this country that the provisional government which would be established with the Co-operation of the principal parties and groups in the country would promote "the well being and progress of the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere, to whom essentially all power and authority must belong.[40]

Thus, at last, the Congress took a decision to launch a civil disobedience movement for achieving independence for which the Socialists had been agitating since the outbreak of the War. They had lost many battles with the right-wing since the formation of their Party, but now they were at least able to win one the most important issues. The Socialists, therefore, supported the resolution with all the force at their command. Consequently, when the, Congress leaders were arrested, many Socialists, thanks to their preparation in advance, went underground and took lead in the movement. Again, since their long standing demand had received official Congress sanction, the Socialists suspended their organisation separate from the Congress for the War period and functioned only as Congressmen and nationalists. "It was decided that the 1942 struggle was a Congress struggle and that nothing was to be done separately from the Congress exclusively by the Party or in the name

41 For full text of the AICC resolution see, Sitaramayya, *op.cit.*, Vol II, pp. 343-345

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of the Party". The Socialists therefore "did not maintain any separate organization on behalf of the Party" during the period of the struggle.[42]

42 Jayaprakash Narayan, *The Socialist way*, 1942, p. 1-2. The decision to put the Party organization in "cold storage" and carry on the struggle strictly under the auspice of the Congress was taken by Achyut Patwardhan who was the only outstanding leader of the CSP outside jail after the passing of the Quit India resolution (Bhargava, *Leaders of the Left*, 1951, p. 53).

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DEVENDRA KAUSHIK*

COLLECTIVE SECURITY IN ASIA : THE IDEA AND THE PROSPECTS**

The post-world war period witnessed the emergence of the Asian consciousness—a byproduct of the national liberation movement. This Asian consciousness found expression in Jawaharlal Nehru's impassioned appeal to the peoples of the continent from the rostrum of the Asian Relations Conference held in Delhi in March 1947—"to get together, to hold together and to develop together". However, the imperialists could not stomach the changing structure of the international system in Asia. They began forging a system of aggressive military and political blocs in Asia in the guise of "collective security". The positive approach to peace in Asia that could have gained momentum in the wake of the 1954 Geneva settlement was thwarted by the Western Powers through the creation of military blocs like the SEATO, CENTO, etc.

The peace forces represented by leaders like Nehru, Nasser and Soekarno took recourse to the policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence as an answer to the Dullesian pactomania. Thus the idea of collective security got discredeted in the Asian mind because of its association with the imperialists'—sponsored military alliances. In contradistinction, the peace forces in Asia and Africa spelled out a new strategy for security—the strategy of "collective peace". At the Bandung Conference they pleaded for building an area of peace and its gradual extension. Security through peaceful co-operation rather than military competition became the corner-stone of the edifice of peace built at Bandung.

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To the Dullesian "Collective security" through military pacts, Nehru counterposed the concept of collective peace. Not that Nehru was against collective security as such (he called it "good and essential to aim at") but he had deep misgivings about the preparations for collective war of "preparedness" in the garb of collective security. The Nehru approach sought to raise a structure of peace in Asia based on solemn mutual assurances by the states to conduct their relations on the basis of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, settlement of disputes through peaceful means and peaceful co-existence and mutually beneficial co-operation. A climate of mutual trust generated by the acceptance of these principles rather than military sanctions were looked upon as more dependable means to enforce peace among nations. As far as back December 1958, Nehru in his reply to a debate on foreign affairs in the Lok Sabha said: "Security can be protected in many ways. The normal idea is that security is protected by armies. That is partly true; it is equally true that security is protected by policies. A deliberate policy of friendship with other countries goes farther in gaining security than almost anything else."[2]

Treaties of peace and friendship were not alien to the sysem of collective peace envisaged by Nehru. He was, it may be recalled not opposed in principle to signing of treaties between South Asian countries emphasising peaceful non-aggressive intent with no military sanction. In his discussion with the then Australian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Robert Casey, in July 1954, he expressed his preference to such treaties over military pacts".[3] However, in view of the acute cold-war tensions then prevailing, he desisted from taking initiatives in this direction lest it were misconstrued as an attempt to form a third bloc.

Regional economic co-operation too had an important place in Nehru's scheme of things. He took some steps towards the promotion of regional co-operation among Asian states. The Asian Relations Conference held in New Delhi in 1947 stressed the need for

1 Jawaharlal Nehru, *Panchsheel*, 1954–56, Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi, 1957, p. 2.

2 *Lok Sabha Debate*, Vol. XXIII, Col. 3959, 9 December, 1958.

3 *The Statesman*, 14 July, 1954.

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greater co-operation among Asian countries. The Second Asian-Conference, also held in the Indian capital in January 1949, made an appeal for regional integration. It called for co-operation among Asian nations within the framework of the United Nations and gave expression to the willingness of the countries of the region to devise an *institutional base* for such co-operation. In a speech in Parliament on 8 March, 1949, Nehru stated that India was exploring methods of close cooperation and suggested another conference to consider possible lines of Asian cooperation.[4] However, the appearance of military blocs and the extension of cold war to Asia resulted in a reduced Indian emphasis on regional organisation for economic co-operation. Any strong emphasis on the formation of even economic groupings in Asia could then have been suspected of being an attempt to forge a third bloc.

Thus, when the CPSU General-Secretary Leonid Brezhnev in his speech at the World Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in June 1969 first mooted the idea of a system of collective security in Asia, he was not speaking in a vacuum. Earlier Mrs. Indira Gandhi, in the Nehruvian tradition had pleaded for an Asian convention during her visit to Southeast Asia in 1967. Such a convention was to have for its object ensuring respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries of the region and neutrality of such countries as wish to remain neutral. Common to Indian and Soviet approach to Asian security was reliance on non-military means. In his June 1969 speech, Brezhnev ruled out military approach to security and called for the creation of a system which would be "the best replacement for the existing military groupings".[5] It is, therefore, clear that allegations of encirclement of China and scheme to fill in the vacuum in the Asian continent following the British withdrawal east of the Suez and American withdrawal from Indochina have no basis whatsoever.

The Asian role of the Soviet State was clearly envisaged by its founder Vladimir Ilyich Lenin who wrote, "Russia geographically, economically and historically belongs not only to Europe but to Asia as well". Soviet interest in peace and security in Asia is but natural:

4 *Jawaharlal Nehru' Speeches* 1946-49, New Delhi, 1949, p. 246.
5 *Pravda*, 8 June 1969.

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The USSR is an Asian power too though its capital lies in Europe. The principles of equality and anti-imperialist solidarity enshrined in the Soviet government's early appeals and proclamations adressed to the Asian peoples and states were first practical steps towards ensuring security on a collective basis. This qualitatively new approach to international relations was consolidated in the early twenties with the treaties of friendship and neutrality which the Soviet State concluded with its Asian neighbours—Mongolia, China, Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey. These treaty obligations, on equality, non-interference in domestic affairs, non-participation in alliances and aggressive actions against each other, as also on the pacific settlement of disputes, aimed at transforming the Asian continent into a zone of stable peace. As such, they may be considered as the beginning of the joint efforts of the Asian states to ensure peace.

The defeat of German Fascism and Japanese militarism, towards which the Soviet people made a significant contribution, further prepared conditions favourable to the creation of a system of collective security in Asia. The policy of peaceful co-existence and non-alignment followed by India and a number of other newly liberated Asian countries was another positive factor. The efforts of these peace-loving states found their culmination in the historic Bandung Conference. They met with the full understanding and support of the Soviet Union. Thus the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union emphasised the importance of creating a "zone of peace" in Asia and noted that the correctness of the Soviet proposals directed at "ensuring collective security in Asia" had been confirmed by life itself. The identical nature and close proximity of the Soviet principles for ensuring peace and security in Asia with the principles advanced by the emergent non-aligned countries demonstrate the objective similarity of interests of the world socialist community and the developing nations.

The Soviet Union has never sought to thrust its own ready-made formula for evolving a system for collective security in Asia. All along it has suggested the need for discussion of the question with a view to reaching a common approach among the Asian states. Moscow has time and again stated that the establishment of a collective security system in Asia is primarily a concern of the Asian

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states themselves For instance, the Soviet Foreign Minister, Gromyko, in his speech at the 24th session of the U.N. General Assembly on 19 September 1969, stressed that collective security in Asia should be the result of Asian efforts. To quote Gromyko, "All the states in that region, irrespective of differences in their social systems, must study and work for the creation of such a system which could be in the interest of each of them.[6]

Soviet thinking on the subject is quite clear in as far as the principles which might serve as the basis for an Asian collective security system are concerned. They were formulated by Leonid Brezhnev more than two years ago in his address to the 15th Congress of the Soviet Trade Unions in March 1972. He said, "To our mind, collective security in Asia should be based on such principles as renunciation of the use of force in relations between the states, respect for sovereignty and inviolability of borders non-interference in domestic affairs and extensive development of economic and other co-operation on the basis of complete equality and mutual advantage".[7] In addition to these principles, Soviet premier, Kosygin in his speech at a Moscow reception for the visiting Iranian Prime Minister, stressed the anti-imperialist edge of an Asian security system. He underscored the need for recognition of the inalienable right of every people to shape its destiny, enjoy full sovereignty over its natural resources and carry out the socio-economic transformation of it desires.[8] Kosygin also pointed out that the attainment of security in Asia demanded the joint efforts of all Asian states. A security system foisted on Asia through great power guarantee can never give real security to the Asian peoples.

Yet the Soviets, though clear about the principles governing collective security system in Asia, have kept an open mind on the subject. In his address to the Indian Parliament last November, Brezhnev made an impassioned plea for "a thorough and comprehensive discussion of the idea of collective security in Asia." He connected this idea with the principles of peaceful co-existence and co-operation as spelled out by the Bandung Conference in the mid-

6 *Ungaor*, XXIV Session, 1969 Pl. Mtg.. p. 12.
7 *Pravda*, 21 March, 1972.
8 *Pravda*, 7 August, 1973.

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'fifties and urged for the renewal of the process interrupted by the advent of military blocs in Asia.

That much about the idea. Now the prospects. True, officially only a few Asian countries like Mongolia, Iran and Afghanistan have thus far endorsed the proposal. Yet the idea has caught up the imagination of the Asian masses in a big way and public support for it should not be mixed up with the ambivalent and in some cases lukewarm response of the ruling circles. Security through non-military means as a concept is deeply rooted in Asian thinking and tradition. The policy of non-alignment, *Panchsheel* and the Bandung principles have had very wide mass support in Asian countries. These principles were far from elitist in their origin as alleged by an American scholar, Warner Levi. On the contrary, the policy of alignment found favour with such Asian counturies only as were under either a monarchy or a military dictatorship.

With the politics of military blocs having proved itself bankrupt and against the background of positive changes that have recently taken place in the international climate, the goal of the creation of a collective security system in Asia seems to be very much within the realm of possibility. The termination of the long-drawn-out war in Vietnam, the conclusion of a national agreement in Laos and the impending final triumph of the patriotic forces in Cambodia are opening up new possibilities for a lasting peace in Asia. The progress towards normalisation of relations between India and Pakistan, the recognition of Bangladesh by Pakistan and the agreement on disengagement between the warring forces in West Asia have given further impetus to the emerging positive trends in Asia. The Japanese government's willingness to co-operate in working out the details of a security system in Asia along with the new mood in Canberra, ASEAN countries' desire to realise the neutralisation of Southeast Asia and the growing support of the creation of a peace-zone in the Indian Ocean are helpful signs on the horizon of the continent.

A system of collective security in Asia cannot be created overnight. It will require considerable time and effort not only by all the Asian states but also by those who cherish the cause of peace on the continent. No doubt, a solution of the problem has to be primarily achieved through joint Asian efforts, outside powers inte-

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rested in the region too have an important role to play. In the present Asian condition an institutionalised form of regional security can only be a long-term goal to be attained gradually through a system of bi-lateral and multi-lateral treaties of friendship, non-aggression and co-operation. An Asian convention on the renunciation of force in inter-state relations and the neutralisation of conflict-torn regions like Southeast Asia can pave the way to the ultimate realisation of the idea of collective security in Asia. The march of events is pushing to the fore the urgency of convening an Asian Conference to work out a declaration of Principles of Collective Security and co-operation in Asia.

The present low level of intra-regional trade and economic co-operation in Asia rules out attainment of collective security on its basis alone. To assert this, however, does not mean that regional economic co-operation has no role to play in promoting Asian security. Once a measure of security is achieved through concerted political initiatives it is bound to foster economic co-operation which in turn would consolidate the edifice of peace in Asia.

The path to collective security in Asia remains essentially a path of struggle by the Asian masses and the forces of peace and national liberation. Collective security in Asia is not aimed at the perpetuation of the *status quo*. On the contrary, it is meant to create a more congenial climate for socio-political changes in the lives of the peoples of the continent through their own efforts without the danger of outside interference in the form of export of "revolution" or counter-revolution. The suggestion made here of ensuring security through bi-lateral and multi-lateral treaties of non-aggression, friendship and co-operation and an Asian convention on the non-use of force may at first sight appear to be an idealistic and utopian approach. Treaties, it is said, are fine like roses and young girls as long as they last. In the final analysis it is not the promises enshrined in the treaties which are expected to sustain the structure of peace in Asia. The real guarantee of observance of these promises lies in the changed objective realities of international life. The traumatic experience of a quarter century of cold war and the successes of the national liberation movement have led to a

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reappraisal of the old imperialist approach to the problems of war and peace.

One may as well hope that the negative approach of Peking towards collective security in Asia also be abandoned in due course of time for fear of isolation if for nothing else. Asia can be compared to use Brezhnev's expression, "to a huge fly-wheel which is slowly and inexorably gaining momentum", Asian collective security is not a distant dream as sceptics would suggest. It is both realistic and feasible.

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P.D. SHARMA*

DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN POLICE ORGANISATION IN THE POST MUTINY PERIOD

The word police, according to the Oxford dictionary means "a system of regulation for the preservation of order and enforcement of law: the internal government of a State". Viewed from this angle, a policeman is "a person paid to perform, as a matter of duty, acts which if he were so minded, he might have done voluntarily".[1] The Latin root of the word police is 'politia' which literally stands for the condition of a 'Polis' or 'State'. It further connotes a system of administration or regulation, although in modern parlance, it is, generally used to indicate an organised body of Civil Officers whose particular duties are the preservation of good order, the prevention and detection of crime and the enforcement of law.[2]

All societies and civilizations since the dawn of organised community life have been characterised with some kind of watch-and-ward organisation for bringing the evil-doers to justice in one form or the other. Such organisations for order were bound to be culture-bound and differed from one place to another according to local needs and popular ingenuity. In primitive communities these organisations were extraordinarily simple and had a very limited scope. The increase in population and advancement in civilization and means of communications have rendered these structures huge, complex, and above all, sophisticated. However, police as an independent

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1 *Report of the Royal Commission on Police Powers and Procedure,* 1929 (3297), para 15.

2 In European parlance the word 'police' means 'A force for the city; in ancient India one of the titles for the chief police officer was 'Nagarpal' or the 'Protector of the City'. See Chatterji, S. K. 'The Police in Ancient India' *Indian Police Journal,* Delhi, Centenary Issue, 1961, p. 11.

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unit in the administrative organisation of the State is a very recent development in human history. As a law-enforcing agency ensuring order, the origin of the police in India can be traced from the earliest Vedic to the Hindu period of Indian history.[3] In those times, there was no independent police department with exclusive functions of detection and control of crimes but there existed several kinds of agencies, pursuing a co-ordinated policy for the maintenance of law and order in society.[4]

After the decline of the Hindu kingdoms, the country slipped into a state of disintegration and chaos that followed in the wake of invasions from outside. Naturally, the smaller units during this period were ruled by an elaborate system of secretive and repressive police.[5] Although an independent police organisation was still not there, yet police functions were exercised by a number of functionaries like superintendents of roads and buildings, excise, treasury, Royal Household and all kinds of spies.

During the last days of the Mughal empire the military exploits of the emperors put the police administration into oblivion and obviously the rulers had to pay quite heavily for this neglect. The deplorable state of internal security is testified by the travel-accounts of foreigners like Manucci, Bernier, Finch, Hawkins, Mundy and several others in the later days of the empire.

Beginnings of a Modern Police Force :

When the East India Company took over the regns of administration from the Mughals, the law and order situation in the empire was at a very low ebb : the police organization conniving at crimes and harbouring offenders in return for a share of the booty. This was a veritable challenge to the ingenuity of the foreign traders. Of course they had their own interest in imperialistic exploits, yet the problems of internal security and protection of their commercial establishments on an alien soil invited their best attention. They evolved a concrete policy of gradual but piecemeal reforms in the organisation and working of the police machine in India. Notwith-

3 Chatterji, S.K., *op. cit.*, pp. 11-18.

4 *Ibid.*

5 J. N. Sarkar, 'Police System in Medieval India in Theory and Practice', *The Indian Police Journal*, Delhi, 1961, see also, *Ain-i-Akbari*.

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standing colonial exploitation and all that goes with it, they quite laboriously and ingenuously built over a period of time the superstrcuture of a modern police force, without greatly disturbing the indigenous police system.

The British policy of gradual and piecemeal reforms was thus characterised by the processes of continuity and change in the evolution of police administration in the Company territories. They retained the village system but relieved the Zamindars of their liability for police duties. Although the situation till the mutiny of 1857 and a few years thereafter, remained fluid and a policy of continuing experiments within the framework of the Mughal period yielded little results.[6] Yet, all these reforms[7] and experiments in the major provinces of the country in the pre-mutiny period laid down the foundations of the police organisation which was later to forge an identity of its own and grew in stature after the termination of the company rule on Indian soil. Embryonic efforts to emancipate the police from the magistracy were also made during this period

Post Mutiny Developments :

The mutiny of 1857 shook the very roots of the administration of law and order in India. The diversity and inadequacy of the police machine to deal with the increasing problems of violence and disorder made the Imperial government realise the urgency of a unified and re-organised police system for the entire country. The heavy expenditure involved in maintaining a military-like police to prevent disorder and a civil police to detect its signs in advance, during the days of 1857 upheavel and after, compelled the government to appoint an all-India Police Commission in 1860 to look into the problems of police administration, to suggest ways and means for an increase in police efficiency and to recommend sizable reduction in

6 Curry, J.C., *op. cit.*, p. 38.

7 In this regard mention may be made of J. N. Todd (1779) and Simon Halliday (1793) for making reforms in the Police Organisation of Bombay presidency. In Bengal presidency the efforts of Governor Warren Hastings (for Regulating Act of 1773) Lord Cornwallis (1792), Lord Wellesley (1801), Lord William Bentinck (1806) may be mentioned. And by opinion of Court of Directors of East India Company in 1813 various changes took place in the organisation. Cf., also C. K. Kasture, 'Thought on Police reforms', *National Police Academy*, Mt. Abu, Nov. 1966 p. 2; In Madras Presidency 'Bengal Reforms' were examined by Thomas Munro and Stratten (for details see, Madras Act. XXIV of 1859). Cf. S. Rao Vanu Gopal 'Police under the East India Company', 1961, pp. 29-52. In 1848 Sir Henry Lawrence reorganised the Punjab Police.

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the excessive expenditure involved in maintaining the police force.[8] The terms of reference of the Commission also included a quest for uniformity in the police system as it obtained in British India.

This police commission in its historic report recommended : 1. the abolition of the military police as a separate organisation; 2. the constitution of a single homogeneous police force of civil constabulary for the performance of all police duties; 3. a police system on provincial basis with an Inspector General of Police as the head of the provincial police organisation; 4. a district based police system, in which each of the district police establishments was to be headed by a S.P., who was to function under the General control and supervision of the D.M.; 5. two senior police functionaries—the I.G.P. and the S.P. have to be citizens of European origin; 6. a subordinate police force which was to consist of Inspectors, Head Constables, Sergeants and Constables;[9] 7. the Commissioners of Divisions were not to wield additional police powers; 8. the continuance of D.M's. supervision on the district police organisation but not beyond that level; 9. the abolition of military police;[10] and 10. the retention of village police, which though inefficient and corrupt, was to be continued as a halfway-house for its usefulness in the Indian context.

The 1861 Reforms :

The major recommendations of the Commission were incorporated into a Bill, which was more or less on the lines of Madras Act of 1859. Later on it was passed into a law as Act V of 1861. The basic structure of police organisation as provided in the act has withstood the ravages of time and forms the corner stone of the police administration in India till today.

8 This All India Police Commission had the following as its members : 1. M. H. Court, Bengal Civil Service, North-West Provinces (Chairman). (2) S. Wauchope, Bengal Civil Service, Lower Provinces. 3. Robinson, Madras Civil Service. 4. R. Templem Bengal Service, Punjab. 5. Lt. Col. Bruce, C. B., Bombay Army, Chief of Oudh Police. 6. Lt. Col. Phayre, Commissioner of Pegu.

9 The head constable was to be incharge of police station and the inspector was to head a group of police stations.

10 In the Commission's view this kind of police was neither necessary nor desirable. Moreover, its cost was prohibitive. A civilian policeman though trained to use arms, did not generally carry or possess arms. Politically, therefore, while he is more useful, he is less dangerous than a military policeman, who is really a native soldier (Refer to a letter from the Police Commission to Government of India, Home Department, September 1860, paragraph 19).

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The significance of the Act of 1861 lies in the fact that in a brief span of few sections it encompasses the whole purpose and intent of the recommendations of the Police Commission with enough scope and flexibility for meaningful changes in the future. It was fairly comprehensive and almost half of the Act dealt with matters such as police powers with regard to public assemblies, punishment for certain kinds of offences on roads and the definitions of important legal terms used in the Act. It was well received by the provincial governments and in almost all the provinces, with the exception of Bombay presidency, the Inspectors General of Police (I.G.P.) took charge of their police departments with a body of trained and disciplined personnel exclusively devoted to the prevention and dete ction of crimes. Gradually the heavy burden of work in some of the provinces resulted in the birth of the office of the Deputy Inspector General of Police, who in several instances was an *ex officio* Commissioner of divisions also. In Bombay the office of the I.G.P. remained abolished from 1860 to 1885 on the ground that its existence had caused conflict and tension in administration. During this period Sir James Fergusson, the Governor of Bombay, had to wage a fierce battle with his own government for the restoration of the post of I.G.P. in the Bombay presidency. His efforts bore fruits, but a large chunk of powers of direction and control were still left with the Revenue Commissioners. In other parts of the country, where this statute provided for an integrated and independent structure of police administration, the personnel for senior posts continued to be largely drawn from the Commissioner ranks of the native army. Later, it was replaced by a system of nominations. It was as late as 1893 that the recruitment for senior police positions in most of the provinces was made by open competition in England and India and by the, promotion of qualified officers already employed in His Majesty's service.

Thus it can be seen that the reforms of 1860 did not give any fresh police force to India. Instead they created a new conglome ration of the old heterogenous elements deposited over a period of time both by accident and design. Actually they presented the old cops with the label of a new force and perhaps also a new clothing. The police force hitherto was not conceived as a service organisation.

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It was designed as a force to be used against the community, but at the same time it was so constituted and controlled as not to overwhelm its creators.

One major recommendation of the Police Commission pertained to the abolition of the *Thagi* department which was created in the year 1835 under the command of Captain Saleeman. The crimes perpetrated by the professional *Thags* or plunderers on North Indian roads, especially by the notorious 'Pindaris' and 'Satnamis' attracted the attention of no less a functionary than the Governor General of India, Lord William Bentinck.[11] In 1839, the jurisdiction of the *Thagi* department was extended to cover dacoity operations in the country. The success achieved by this department was applauded by the Commission, which recommended its merger with the larger organisation of the police force in the provinces. However, the, provincial and district police organisations continued to have special dacoity police forces out of their sanctioned strength. Some of these continue to exist even to-day in the States of Rajasthan, Madhya Pradhesh and U.P.

The police reforms of 1860 remained a matter of debate and controversy for the rest of the century. In Bombay, the post of the Police Commissioner which was created in 1855 and was abolished in 1860 led to the creation of the office of the I.G.P. in 1885, but a large amount of power of direction and control over the provincial police establishments still remained with the Revenue Commissioners. Different provinces allowed different control mechanisms to operate and in United Provinces the Commissioner was made the *ex-officio* Dy. I.G.P. with wide powers in police personnel matters. In Punjab the same system operated with a new development : the D.I.G. of Police was gradually rendered into a nominal professional adviser to the Divisional Commissioner, who was also the *ex officio* D.I.G. in status. As early as 1864 the post of Dy. I.G.P. was abolished from its cadres in the Central Provinces (C.P.) Thus the reforms of 1860 did not alter the situation materially and the total scheme remained

11 W. H. Saleeman, *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, 1843. Also Dr. Sherwood's paper : Thievnots Travels, 1816.

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in abeyance for one reason or the other in various provinces of the country.[12]

Indian Police Commission 1902—1903 :

Another significant landmark in the history of the Indian police during the British period is the appointment of the second all-India Police Commission which came on the turn of the 20 Century. The preceding Commission and the subsequent Police Act of 1861 were obviously deficient in several aspects and respects. Inefficiency and corruption in the ranks of police force were woefully rampant and the personnel recruited in the organisation continued to be untrained and ill-equipped for the job. To streamline this rumbling structure and to reform policies in the area of personnel administration, a thorough probe became necessary. The Governor-General in Council with the approval of the Secretary of State for India appointed second All-India Police Commission in the year 1902.[13] The purpose of appointing the Commission was to study the state of police organisation in different provinces of the country and to submit recommendations for making the police force effective in the changed context of Indian politics. It was the first attempt of its own kind to screen and revamp police administration in its entirety. The Commission before submitting its final report called a special conference of all the I.G.Ps. of the Provinces and heard them on the problems confronting their departments in the various provinces. The recommendations of the Commission, besides being of far reaching importance were based upon a consensus obtained among the senior administrators and police officials, who jointly contributed to the labours of

12 The Indian Police Commission of 1902 attributed the following reasons for the failure of the reforms of 1860 : (1) the police work was underestimated; (2) untrained and ill-educated officers of lowest ranks were assigned responsible duties; (3) inadequate and defective supervision of police operations was a fact; (4) the senior police officers were ignorant of their subordinates and the people at large; and (5) the intererence and subordination to magistracy had weakened the police sense of responsibility. "*Report of the Police Commission*, 1902, paragraph 29.

13 This Commission was headed by A. H. L. Fraser, Chief Commissioner of Central Provinces. The other members of the Commission were : (1) Justice E.T. Candy, Puisne Judge of the Bombay High Court. (2) The Maharaja of Darbhanga. Additional member of the Governor-General's Council. (3) Dewan S.R. Ayyengar, Member, Governor's Council, Madras. (4) Lt. Col. J.A.L. Montgomery, Member of of the Council of Lt. Governor of Punjab. (5) Mr. W.M. Golvin of Allahabad. (6) Mr. A.C. Hankin, Inspector General of Police, Hyderabad State. (7) Mr. H.A. Stuart, Inspector General of Police, Madras (Member Secretary).

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the Commission. Some of the major recommendations offered by this body were :

(i) A criminal investigation department was to be established in each province with a Dy. I.G.P. as its administrative head to control and supervise the organisation and its working. The separate provincial organisation was to collect, collate and distribute information pertaining to organised crimes and other serious offences against the State. A similar organisation for the entire country at the national level was also recommended with a finger-print bureau and a special branch of C.I.D. to be established as part and parcel of this agency.

The province as a unit of administration was to be divided into several ranges and each such range was to be controlled and commanded by a D.I.G. of Police to be appointed for the purpose.

(iii) The office of the S.P. of the district was to be strengthened. A Dy. S.P. was to be appointed to assist the S.P. The new post was to be created in the police hierarchy, very much on the lines of a S.D.O. in the civilian administration of the district.

(iv) A separate and independent police organisation, to be known as Railway Police Force, was also to be constituted on the basis of the existing jurisdiction of the provinces. A police official of the rank of a D.I.G. (C.I.D.) was to head this organisation.

(v) The Divisional Commissioner was no more to interfere directly in the day-to-day affairs and working of the police administration. Yet general control and direction of the Commissioner were to stay in terms of supervision and advice to the District Collector who was to become incharge of the administration of law and order in the district. Actually the Commission wanted to strike a proper balance between civil guidance and professional autonomy.

(vi) At the lower rungs of the administrative hierarchy, there were to be several police circles within a district. Each of these circles, having an approximate area of 150 miles as operational jurisdiction, was to be under a Sub-Inspector (S.I.). The cadre of SIs. was to be raised for the first time in India and they were henceforth to be distinguished quite distinctly from their former counterparts, namely the *Darogas*, the *Thanedars* and the *Kotwals*.

(vii) The pay and other remunerative benefits of the police officers right from the lowest constable to the highest I.G.P. of the

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State were also to be raised quite substantially. But this was to be made effective with a simultaneous upward revision in the quality of their recruitment and training.

(viii) An armed police force was to be constituted at the headquarters of each district to serve as a reserve police force to handle emergent situations and other special kinds of police jobs of an *ad hoc* nature.

(ix) The institution of the village headman was to continue. He was to perform the rural police duties through the deployment of village watchmen, who in turn were not to be the members of the regular police force of the State.

These suggestions were obviously meant to refashion the structure and reorient the personnel policies of the police department, to gear it to the mounting challenges posed by increase in crime and disorder on the turn of the century. They aimed at streamlining the disjointed machinery and its overlapping functions. They also tried to reconcile jurisdictional problems and issues like special crimes on the railways and in the districts. The S.Is. office created by the Commission is still to-day the back-bone of police administration in the country.

A critical look at the police reforms of 1902 would indicate that they were purposefully planned to strengthen the district police and thereby to make it serve as a powerful bulwark for the sustenance of the gigantic structure of the empire. Naturally they ignored some of the very vital aspects of reforms like Indianization of the police force or decentralisation of the organisation to enable the meritorious young Indians to occupy positions of authority and responsibility. The weakness of the Commission's report was particularly highlighted by Maharaja Nameshwar Singh of Darbhanga, the only Indian member of this Commission, who in his dissenting note wrote :

> "We require Englishmen as well as Indians in the higher ranks of the police in the interest of good administration...A uniform method of admission is best calculated to secure these objects...To create a separate grade for Indians would not adequately secure the two-fold object, namely to bring

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police administration more in touch with the people and to secure a class of self-relying and capable Indian officers.[14]"

He broadly agreed with his British colleagues in the Commission but made the following points in his note of dissent :

1. The policy of speedy Indianisation of the senior ranks in the Indian police organisation should be given a fair trial.

2. The discriminatory treatment of Indian Dy. S.Ps. in comparison to their European counterparts (the Assistant Superintendents) should be stopped without further delay.

3. The policy of recruitment by open competition in the ranks of police organisation to provide fair opportunities to Indian youngmen of talent and promise to serve their motherland was to be accepted and encouraged in a positive manner.

4. The control of district police authorities must not vest in the hands of European D.Ms. or Collectors, who viewed the police organisation as a tool to further English imperial interests.

In spite of the nationalist dissent on the part of the Maharaja, the recommendations of the Commission were accepted by the Government of India in their entirety; these later served as the basis for the reorganisation of the police machine in the provinces. The C.I.D. and railway police organisations were the consequence of the recommendations of the Commission. The provincial governments reoriented their recruitment and promotion policies accordingly. Several special Committees were constituted in different provinces to probe the matter further for streamlining police administration in their respective areas. The Punsden Committee appointed by the Punjab government took the lead and the provinces of U.P. and C.P. followed suit. These Committee reports grappled with minor issues of details but absolutely failed to make a major dent in the system. The non-violent nature of the freedom struggle could not build up enough pressure on the police machine for a change in attitude and orientation, It continued to be notoriously oppressive. On the personnel side the situation remained still worse. The concept of police bureaucracy during the British period of Indian history remained plagued with the idea of military hierarchy. Like the commission-

14 Quoted by Hooja, M.M.L. in 'Police during the British Rule', *IPJ* Centenary Number, 1961–62.

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ed and non-commissioned ranks of the latter, the Indian police was given its gazetted and non-gazetted cadres. The 1861 reforms drew the line at the level of the Dy. S.P. the office of the Assistant S.P. and those senior to him were reserved for the officers of British descent. These senior police officers belonged to the Imperial or the Indian Police Service (I.P.), while the rest of them constituted and served on the cadres of the provincial police services. Prior to the year 1895 the recruitment and promotion in the senior cadre was almost entirely by nominations, tempered by a simple examination. The Secretary of State for India, who was the chief guardian and custodian of the all India public services of the colony laid down these policies, which were primarily dictated by considerations of protecting imperial, interest in the country. Though most of these senior officers were either from the army or of British descent, their calibre was low, because they were generally picked up from the lot of "the amiable deterimentals, the younger sons, or the sporting public school boys, too lazy or too stupid to get into the army, but prepared to go anywhere or do anything which did not involve prolonged drudgery."

Towards Indianization

This compelled the commission to consider about the constitution of a Public Service Commission for India. Pressure was also built to throw all public service posts open to meritorious candidates irrespective of their descent through a system of competitive examinations. Thus senior posts in the Indian police service were made accessible to young Indians of proven merit in the year 1912. This goes as a great landmark in the history of the Indian police. However in practice very few young Indians could actually compete with their British counterparts In 1919 the proportion of the Indians in I.P.Service was fixed at 33%. Subsequently the Lee Commission of 1924 had to concede an expansion in this reservation quota to 50% of the total posts in the Imperial service to Indian Officers over a period of fifteen years. The Lee Commission also realised and accepted the validity of the argument for competitive examinations in India. On the recommendation of the Commission, the government decided in 1924 to hold the examinations for the IP Service along with the examination for the ICS simultaneously at both the places in England and India.

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The Indian Police Commission of 1902 visualized the non-gazetted cadres in the Indian police as promotional cadres on provincial basis. The non-gazetted posts were to be manned exclusively from among the Indians. The ranks of the constables and the sub-inspectors were to be filled from among the direct recruits. The post of the Dy. S.Ps. was carved out entirely as a promotional avenue from among senior inspectors working their way up from the rank of a Sub-Inspector. As these junior officials had to be Indians the Commission did not consider the constables to be a suitable agency even for the performance of beat duty; rather it deprecated the Beat System itself. The constables were made mere errand boys. Later on the Bihar Police Commission condemned the system on the ground that "in all progressive police forces a constable is a living unit of the force. He should be able to work, behave and act like an officer."[15] Thus, while the brilliant and the meritorious could force his entry into the I.P. Service at senior levels, the sincere and the dedicated service of an Indian could not earn him anything higher than the position of a Dy. S.P.

The history of the Indian police during the first half of the 20 century is a history of *status quo*. The Englishmen laboriously built the police machine and very meticulously tended its organisation to suit to the colonial needs of the Imperial government. For the decades the police had to strive to attain the status of a district and independent departmental organisation. Its cadres and their professional welfare remained concerns of non-professionals and outsiders. Considerations of cost were used as arguments to prevent basic, reforms. Planned and organised on the principle of mere prevention the Indian police had to depend for its growth upon the exigencies of the situation. Yet by way of an overall assessment of the legacies of the British Raj one may agree with J.C. Curry, who maintains :

> To the self-governing India of the future, the Indian police force is not the least of the gifts, which Britain has to offer and it can only augur ill for the future, if those who claim to speak of modern and some progress fail to realise how much it means to India to have such a weapon made ready at hand."[16]

15 *Report of the Bihar Police Commission*, para 208.

16 Curry, J. C. *op. cit.*, p. 1

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Historically speaking it can be called "one of the great organisations" achieved under the aegies of the British rule, whose loyal support to the government served the cause of peace and order, without which no political structure could have subsisted for long."

Police in Post Independence era

The Indian Independence Act of 1947 terminated the office of the Secretary of State for India. The founding fathers of the Indian Constitution in their wisdom decided to retain and provide special security to the two all India services, including the I.P.S. Article 312 of the constitution allowed the old I.P. cadre to be converted into the new cadre of the I.P.S. The Union Public Service Commission was made the custodian for the All India Services, which conducts an annual all India competitive examination for recruitment to the cadre of I.P.S. The All India Services Act, 1951 prescribes the framework for the I.P.S. and Indian Police Service Recruitment Rules govern the details of the recruitment policy which have been formulated by the Union Ministry of Home in consultation with the U.P.S.C. The President of India makes appointments of officers in the I.P.S. and the Union government maintains in several ways a position of command and control over police personnel administration of the country.

The growth of administration in general and police administration in particular during the last two decades in the wake of rapid rise in crime statistics and public disorders can be attributed to the growth of urbanisation and other compulsions of democracy and devlopment. As a result of this a great amount of structural proliferation can be witnessed in the organisation of police, especially in the emergence of, specialised staff agencies at the Centre. Some of these staff units like the Central Reserve Police (C.R.P.), the Special Police Establishment (S.P.E.) and the Central Intelligence Bureau (C.I.B.) etc. were already there even before independence. But then the recent reforms have renovated these organisations and changed the functions of these units in thelight of the new needs and techniques available today.[17] The scientific revolution and the explosion of knowledge have given

17 Rao, M. V. Narayan, 'Reforms in Police Administration since Independence', *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. IX, p. 268.

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birth to various advanced institutes of forensic research and specialised training in police craft. The need of protecting the borders of the country from enemy infiltrations and other types of violations have resulted in the constitution of Boarder Security Force (B.S.F.) which is a para-police organisation at the Centre. Through these auxiliary units and specialised staff aids the Union government, controls the top personnel management and provides a coordinating system of administration for the Indian police. In both these areas the Indian police system, which was fairly national even before independence, has emerged as a real all-India system of great federal value and technical competence. The Constitution of India lists police as a state subject. The State Home ministers control their respective police organisations which have not changed much since independence particularly at the district level. During last 20 years the challenges of development engaged almost completely the attention of the government at the State and Central levels that problems of regulatory administration went, by and large, unattended. Though the problems of organised crime and disorder have became both formidable and urgent in recent years, it seems paradoxical that most of the states have cared to cling to *status quo ante* in police administration at their level. Some big cities have, however, been forced to make new experiments with Police Commissionerships on the lines of the organisation of former Presidency towns. Some of the State governments like Kerala, Bihar, U.P., Delhi and Punjab in their zeal for reforms have appointed State Police Commissions. Yet their reports still await acceptance, let alone the question of sincere implementation by the governments. Several states have modified and amended their police laws, but this does not seem to have made a big dent in the 1861 structure, which has collected a lot of mass around it during the century. Recently a report of Administrative Reforms Commission (A.R.C.) tackled the problem boldly, but, once again, the report has failed to carry conviction with the Government of India

In Retrospect

Thus the history of Indian police from the Vedic times to the present day independent India is a story of keeping the machine going rather than getting it really lubricated and refixed, let alone replaced. It has withstood the ravages of the centruries from the

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ancient to the modern, which, in turn, has made the police administration in India. The result has been a queer amalgam of mediaeval endurance and British sophistry. The S.I. and the S.P. who have emerged as two key officials in the police bureaucracy have been contributed by the mediaeval and English periods of Indian history respectively. The police organisation at and below the level of the district is essentially Akbar's creation. The Englishman for reasons of their own merely formalised it in the Police Act of 1861 and dared not to disturb it in the interests of imperial expansion and consolidation. The organisation and personnel at and above the level of the district kept in the English hands. Renovations suggested in this complex structure by the Police Commission of 1902-3 were in consonance with the policy of keeping the leadership and decision-making apparatus under the imperial command. The Commission certainly made some useful suggestions, but they were also, more or less, by way of tinkering with the system here and there. The basic system has persisted through the ages.

Thus the two major landmarks of 1861 and 1902 only consolidated and reorganised the past and present of the Indian police, respectively. During last seventy years very little concrete has been accomplished in terms of future professional growth. Till the Second World War, the pace of social change and advancement of knowledge specially in a traditional society like that of India, was so slow that it could conveniently afford a *status quo-oriented* police system,, geared just to the colonial needs of 18 century. The technical developments in the post-war and post independence era of the country have, however, radically changed the context. The advent of democracy in the country has exposed the administrative system to newer challenges of greater magnitude than before. That is why the Founding Fathers of the Indian Constitution have deemed it proper to leave the law and order machinery to the care of the State leaders to suit local requirements. With this given framework of autonomy, the Constitution has envisaged a uniform senior personnel to man and evolve coordinated policies of national importance. The central institutions of technical know-how and the advisers in the Union Ministry of Home are also there to assist and guide the state police administrations. All the Enquiry Commissions appointed by the State

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governments from time to time during last twenty years would record with disguist the outdatedness and lack of purpose in the police administration in India. The compulsions of a democratic system, enjoyment of fundamental rights by the citizens, mass education, spread of political consciousness in rural areas, undue political interference by amateur leaders, growing affiuence of the middle class and intense feelings of communalism and parochialism among urban minority pockets are some of the reasons that make the police job doubly difficult. In the absence of serious and sustained police research. Sometimes rustic solutions are offered and even experimented upon to solve the complex problems of a growing society' which is constantly engaged in modernising its traditional frame of reference. The sense of history can help to develop insight and future perspective. But this also has its in built limitations and as such cannot be relied upon exclusively in the assessment of future needs and demands. In a developing society like that of India where continuity and change are the hall-marks of the evolutionary process, the future history of police administration should tend to shift more towards change than mere continuity, taking, of course, due note of the legacies of the past.

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REVIEWS

Indian Philosophy A Popular Introduction :

by DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA

Peoples Publishing House, Delhi,

revised edition 1972, pp. 259, Price Rs. 20.00

The author is a wellknown historian of Indian Philosophy and his *Lokayata* has already established .ts reputation as a permanent contribution to the subject. The present work was published many years ago in its first edition and its second edition is likely to be welcomed even more. It is written in a clear and simple manner and seeks to focus attention on the conflict of 'idealistic' and 'materialistic' tendencies within the Indian philosophical tradition and to discover the socio-historical forces which determined the vicissitudes of this struggle. There is no doubt that the history of philosophy cannot be understood without attending to its underlying dialectic which functions at the ideal as well as the historical plane. Nevertheless the fragmentary nature of our knowledge of ancient Indian history makes such a task exceedingly difficult and Professor Chattopadhyaya must be complemented for attempting it.

Despite the fact that Prof. Chattopadhyaya is an avowed Marxist and writes from a Marxist angle, he has a genuine interest in Indian philosophy and an earnest seeking to penetrate to its inner core. His work thus acquires the significance of a living document in the contemporary development of Indian thought. This can hardly be said of many other Marxian or non-Marxian attempts which are being made today to fit the reality of Indian thought or social process to some preconceived Procrustean bed. In fact, Prof. Chattopadhyaya's work suffers from the necessity which he has had of relying on the results of the Marxist historians of Indian society who have tended after printed prolixity to come up with wellknown cliches. Thus Prof. Chattopadhyaya rightly points out that after Upanisadic idealism we have an antithetical philosophy in early Buddhism which opposes *Anatmavada* to *Atmavada*. Still later

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the rise of Mahayana appears to reintroduce or rather reinforce the idealistic tendency within Buddhism. What is the socio-historical basis of this sequence? Dr. R.S. Sharma has attempted to connect the rise of Buddhism with the break-up of tribal society, So Walter Ruben says in his Foreword, "One has to show how it happened that the Buddha taught his doctrine in a special historical surrounding. It was, as Debiprasad has shown, the time when his tribe and the aristocratic class in his tribe were in danger....He felt the miseries of the suppressed and exploited people living under slave-holding despotism which was then just beginning." We must submit that such a description rides roughshod over the complexities of social history and its relationship with the history of ideas. But when social historians tend to be ideologically dogmatic, how can we blame the historians of philosophy who seek to discover its social background; but what would one say of social historians who are not only unaware of the history of philosophy but what is more, consider philosophy and history as mutually exclusive!

In Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya we have a fine example of Marxian ideology deepening the study of Indian philosophy from the social angle. One only wishes that the Marxist historians of ancient and mediaval Indian society could deepen their perception of social and historical reality by cultivating acquaintance with the ideal component of dialectic.

G.C. PANDE

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The Kapalikas and Kalamukhas
by DAVID N. LORENZEN
Thomson Press (India) Limited, New Delhi.

The author has attempted, from available material, a portrayal 'as complete as possible' of two so called minor Savite sects: the Kapalikas and the Kalamukhas. The first part of the book deals with Kapalikas, the second with the Kalamukhas. The relation of the one sect with the other has also been discussed.

The Kapalikas must have formed a weird sect, for even in a country like India where extremist spiritual practices have not been uncommon, they were marked off in popular imagination as a peculiary out-of-the-way lot. The sect must have been vital in its own way; it held a strange fascination for the common Indian mind. No doubt, there was a general feeling of repulsion towards the sect, but at the same time the Kapalikas also greatly attracted the general imagination with a mixed emotion of awe and disgust. Kapalika characters appear in many early, medieval and also late medieval works of literary imagination : stories, plays, popular tales, fables, legends and legendary biographies. The Kapalikas still live as a type in the Indian mind, as a host of folk tales and stories for children testify. It is also worth remarking that Bankim, the well-known 19th century Bengali novelist, has used a Kapalika character with great effect in his *Kapala Kundala.*

In old Indian literature Kapalikas are often pictured as characters analogous to the wicked and scheming black magicians of fairy tales. With their female companions, the Kapalikas are shown as conspiring to execute the most inhuman and horried deeds in order to attain magical siddhis and to appease their terrible deity.

But although the figure of the Kapalika is common enough in imaginative literature, hardly any authentic record of the sect is available. The sect has now disappeared and so, apparently, have its writings. There exist a few reports of its doctrines and practices such as those given by the Vaisnava teachers Ramanuja and Yamunacarya—but these are too scanty to make a coherent or clear picture. Besides, these reports cannot be made the basis of a truly historical appraisal; they are biased accounts written with a view to censure and condemn.

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Lorenzen has gathered together much material about the Kapalikas, mainly from imaginative literature. His presentation of the material is lucid and readable. Yet Lorenzen is not quite successful in taking us behind the distorting screen of imaginative fancy and the web of fiction which was drawn up by writers with the view to excite popular audiences. He fails to give us a glimpse of the Kapalikas as a living and dynamic sect. His account does not reveal the core of strength which enabled the sect to survive over centuries despite strong popular disapproval.

Lorenzen has reproduced textual material right from the age of Hala to that of Anandaraya Makhin (c. 1700 A.D.), but he makes no coherent attempt at outlining a history of the sect. He makes no cogent endeavour to highlight the specific characteristics of the sect vis-a-vis other movements in the Indian spiritual field of a similar nature or to trace the origin and development of the Kapalika ideal and practice and the divergence or changes occurring within the sect over the long period in which it is known to have existed.

The earliest notice, reproduced by Lorenzen, of the sect is from Hala's Prakrit anthology of verses, the *Gathasaptasati* complied during the Gupta age. The anthology has a verse about a female Kapalika, which according to Lorenzen's rather doubtful interpretation, pictures her as gleefully besmearing her body with the ashes of her dead and burnt lover (verse No. 408 of the *Kavyamala* edition). If this female Kapalika was a typical member of her sect, the Kapalikas by Gupta times, must have already evolved excessively extreme practices. They must also have left a long formative period behind them which would be worth inquiring into; but Lorenzen fails to make any significant probe. The subsequent story of the sect in Lorenzen's account, also fails to acquire any historical footing and remains substantially in the domain of the fairy tale. Many terrifying and demonic figures are shown from later tales and plays but none is quite as morbid and gruesome as the female Kapalika from the *Gathasaptasati*. Reading Lorenzen's account one may be led to deduce that extremist practises within the sect—epitomized in Hala's Kapalika—had reached their apex during Gupta age and the later history of the sect is a tale of moderation; a story of decline from the earlier extremism. Lorenzen, of course, does not suggest any such pattern of sequence, he only gives us a series of portrayals drawn from the imaginative writings. These portraits are presented

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almost kaleidoscopically : we are shown a number of images one after the other but no significant attempt is made to relate these images and unravel an underlying scheme. Lorenzen, in other words, has not given his material any cogent and meaningful historical perspective.

It is clear that the Kapalikas were inspired by *Tantra,* specially *vamacara Tantra*. But *Tantra* branched out into a multifaceted movement both in doctrine and in *sadhana* or spiritual practice and discipline. *Tantra* had a variety of different schools and 'paths' analogous to the Vedic stream of culture. Lorezen speaks of the Tantric spirit so clearly pervading Kapalika practices. His analysis would have been more valuable had he attempted to point out the distinctive Tantricism of the Kapalikas.

The Kapalikas knew a long history and it is to be expected that such an extremist, unfettered and unorthodox sect must have branched out into subsects within the fold. Sri Gopinath Kaviraj in his valuable little book (in Bengali) entitled 'Tantra O Agamasastrer Digdarsan'[1] indeed quotes from the *Suprabheda Agama* which speaks of four sects of Saumas (the Kapalikas were known as *Somasiddhantins*=followers of the Soma doctrine).

The material mustered by Lorenzen contains many suggestions revealing differences in modes and practices among Kapalikas. We are told, for example, that Ksemisvara in his drama *Candakausika* delineates a Kapalika, who quite unlike his brethren, had undertaken a vow of life-long chastity (he was a *naisthika*). If this picture mirrors a fact then it is a pointer to the interesting possibility that not all sections of Kapalikas were *vamacaris*. Another tale recorded is that of Krakaca, a Kapalika leader who attacked Sankaracarya with his militant horde of followers. Here, perhaps, we have hints that point to another section of Kapalikas, different from the usual ascetic of this order who is pictured as moving alone or with his female Kapalika. Lorenzen has not meaningfully deliberated over evidence of this nature and has tried, on the contrary, to gloss over differences rather than take them as significant clues to the complexities of an actual historical situation. His attitude is, on the whole, to simplify and explain away complexities, an attitude that often hinders historical analysis.

1. Calcutta Sankrit College Research Series, No. XXXV, Calcutta, 1963.

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In Chapter III of his book Lorenzen briefly discusses the doctrines and practices of the Kapalikas. The Kapalika creed had succeeded in inspiring a section of people over the centuries. Kapalikas continued gathering adherents, although the sect was generally disliked and censured. Their ideal, though unpopular, certainly had the power to move and attract allegiance. It would no doubt be worth-while to know the theories and doctrines through which this ideal was given form and the mode of *sadhana* through which it was sought to be realized. If any proper study of the Kapalika ideal can ever be made, it can only be done through a sifting of the large body of *Agamic* literature which voices the creed of diverse Saivite Sects. Gopinath Kaviraj, in the book referred to above, speaks of *Agamic* works, which are said to be specifically Kapalika in tone and content (op.cit. pp. 58-60). Lorenzen has not taken recourse to the *Agamas.* But it must be said for him that access to the *Agamas* is difficult, since these works are mostly unpublished. Lorenzen's account of Kapalika doctrine and practise is based on the scanty information found in more readily available works. It is, perforce, sketchy.

An important aspect of Kapalika practice was the observance of *mahavrata.* Lorenzen makes some interesting comments on the probable connection of this observance with the *mahavrata* penance prescribed in the *Smrtis* as atonement for persons who had killed a Brahmana. Siva himself—in a Pauranic myth—is said to have undertaken this Smrti-prescribed *mahavrata* vow after having stricken off one of the heads of Brahma. Recalling this Saiva myth Lorenzen tries to establish a link between the Smrti-prescribed *mahavrata* and the *mahavrata* of the Kapalika Saivites. His analysis however fails to give any satisfactory explanation of how the Smrti-prescribed, *mahavrata,* which demanded strict mortification of the senses, came to be transformed into Kapalika ceremonies which included, in Lorenzen's own words, 'ritual reviling, obscene dialogue and sexual intercourse'.

After describing the Kapalikas, Lorenzen deals with the Kalamukhas in the second section of his book This sect is described in chapters four to six. The material collected here is mainly inscriptional. In and around Mysore state, the Kalamukhas had under them a large number of Saivite temples chi fly during the period of eleventh to thirteenth century A.D. (though earlier temples belonging to the ninth century are also reported). A large number of inscriptions relating to Kalamukhas have been discovered in these temples.

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The Kalamukhas of these inscriptions were divided into branches called *parisads*, some of which were held in great esteem and reverence by both the populace and the royalty as is shown by numerous grants. Lorenzen takes up a large number of inscriptions relating to various Kalamukha branches and records them on a periodwise and areawise basis. Perhaps no one before him has deliberated upon such a wealth of inscriptional evidence concerning the Kalamukhas. But in this section, too, we notice a lack of any broad historical or doctrinal perspective which might enable us to view the Kalamukhas within the larger canvass of Saivite movements and cultural cross-currents.

Indian tradition brackets Kalamukhas with Kapalikas as sharing many traits in common. Ramanuja and Yamunacarya have pointed out many similarties, such as eating from a skull bowl, besmearing the body with the ashes of a corpse, eating those very ashes and also keeping and using a pot of wine for the worship of gods. The picture of Kalamukhas that emerges from inscriptions does not agree with this description. The Kalamukhas of the inscriptions are largely portrayed as respectable, learned and humanitarian *sanyasins* upholding and propagating the Vedic order and ideal; they appear to be far removed from the hideous practices of the Kapalikas. This discrepancy was noted by G.S. Ghurye who, in explanation, suggested that the sect had gradually become purged of objectionable elements. Lorenzen offers a more drastic and, as he calls it, 'sinister' explanation. He suggests that Yamunacarya and Ramanuja have deliberately confused Kalamukhas with Kapalikas in order to discredit these important rivals for royal patronage.

Lorenzen's hypothesis has obvious flaws. The Kalamukhas of the inscriptions were evidently a well-known sect during the age of Ramanuja and Yamunacarya. And they were, moreover, quite wide-spread in the same region where the two celebrated Vaisnavas preached. Whom could, then, Ramanuja and Yamunacarya have hoped to fool by circulating false reports about the Kalamukhas! They might perhaps succeed in confusing us moderns because of the wide gap of centuries separating us from them but they certainly could not have really hoped to confuse their contemporaries.

The apparent contradiction between the available testimonies seems to point to a complex situation. There were perhaps other Kalamukhas who have left no inscriptions precisely because they

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were disrespectable like their Kapalika brethren. We cannot, of course, be sure and the state of affairs seems inexplicable at present, but chosing a simple way out as Lorenzen has done, is to evade the problem rather than face it.

It must be said to Lorenzen's credit that he has collected within the compass of a single book a great deal of scattered information concerning the two sects he has studied; yet despite all its documentation, the book does not take us any deeper into the subject than R.G. Bhandarkar's famous study entitled '*Vaisnavism, Saivism and other Minor Religious Systems*'.

The book under review has been brought out as a monograph (No.XII) by the Australian National University Centre of Oriental Studies. The pages total 214. The book has a bibliography and a word-index appended at the end. It is well printed and well-bound.

MUKUND LATH

Radhasoami Faith—A Historical Study
by AGAM PRASAD MATHUR,
Vikash Publishing House, Delhi, 1974.
pp. 189, price Rs.

The religious movements in the 19th century India were a complex phenomena, influenced sometimes by external factors and sometimes by 'internal search for truth'. Movements like the Brahmo Samaj which tried to meet an external (christian missionary) challenge by some borrowings and adjustment of doctrines did not turn out to be effective and very soon withered away like a 'garland of flowers'. There were certain other movements impelled by an internal search for truth like those led by Ram Krishna Paramhansa and Swami Dayanand. These movements tried to lay emphasis on

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our ancient heritage and found 'new meaning' in old texts and usages. They remained influential and powerful. The Radhasoami faith was a movement of the latter type which was born out of 'a spontaneous outburst of an inner urge of the Spirit' (preface, vi). The Radhasoamis are a comparatively smaller community, mainly concentrated at Dayalbagh and Swami Bagh near Agra, with a small group living at Beas.

The author's basic thesis is that the tenets of the Radhasoami faith do not favour inactivity in the world and discard asceticism. It is substantiated by the growth of Dayalbagh which is 'a socio-economic experiment' where the emphasis on material aspects—industry and agriculture—is combinedwith spiritualism. It has succeeded in striking a healthy balance between spiritualism and materialism, attachment and detachment (p. 160).

The above work is the first systematic documented study of the birth, growth and development of the Radhasoami faith. Dr. A.P. Mathur, himself being one of the leaders of the Radhasoami faith, has succeeded in maintaining an overall objectivity in perspective. He has not hesitated to criticise the organisation and working of the Central Administrative Council set up in 1902 which was to look after the entire organisation. However, at some places his statements betray his involvement. His assertion that the faith is strong enough to overcome differences of opinion caused by the split is rather partisan. If it were so, the split should not have occurred at all. His diagnosis that the establishment of a council with full authority over the conduct of the organisation was the root cause of all dissensions and litigation (p. 112) and the most important factor for split among the Radhasoamis is very correct and bold.

The book is readable and the facts are well presented. The printing and get up of the book is quite good.

M. S. JAIN

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Outline of Indian Constitutional History (British Period)
by W.A.J. ARCHBOLD
Curzon Press, London (Rupa, Calcutta-12),
pp. 367, 1973, new edition. Price £ 3.75.

The book is a reprint of an edition originally published in 1926. Archbold had been in India for a number of years and as the principal of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh had played a role in the Simla Deputation of 1906. He had undertaken this book since he wanted India to aspire only for a constitution which would secure her positionas a part of the British empire.

The book covers constitutional development upto 1919 only and leaves out of account various administrative developments and mutual relations between the home, central and local governments. This period has been exhaustively written upon and the author himself made no claims to originality. However, the author's assessment of the growth of British empire in India and his analysis of the constitutional crisis of the twenties of the present century are interesting.

Archbold rejected the view that the founding of Indian empire was the result of an accident, instead he considered it to have been the result of a 'design'—a scheme--of territorial conquest from the seventeenth century, irrespective of the fact that the Company's, administrative and territorial organization developed after Plassey p.29). However, his arguments that the Diwani grant 'was but a make-believe' (p.46) and that there was no alternative to the dual system of Government of Clive (p.48) are incorrect. His contention that the interference by the British Government in the affairs of the East India Company in 1813 was the result of democratic movement in England (p.99) is anachronistic. Similarly, he glossed over many inconvenient facts to say that the Act of 1853 represented the beginning of a parliamentary system in India (p. 149). He forgot that it was a wrong interpretation of the spirit of 1853 Charter by Dalhousie which had given it the shape of beginning of parliamentary institutions in India. The Act of 1861 and Wood's letter to Canning categorically deny this interpretation.

Archbold's object in denying the theory of 'accident' was to show that most of the constitutional measures were introduced with the object of strengthening the empire. His assertion that the British Government, by taking over the Company's administration in 1858,

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wanted to prepare a way for India's closer association, so that she could become a province of the Empire and ultimately develop into a self-governing member of a federated system of States (p. 114) is far-fetched. Such a scheme of India's place in British empire was simply non-existent in 1858.

The second premise of Archbold that the 'idealism' of the authors of Montford report was responsible for much of the confusion in India in the twenties of the present century is untenable and partial. Archbold represents the imperialist view point when he argues that the attempt to consider India like England was responsible for creating a situation of 'difficulty and danger'. Archbold has revealed his bias even in a book of constitutional history when he argued that the representative system could never be akin to the instincts of the many races comprising the population of the Indian Empire. (p. 161). His fears that the Act of 1919 would result in disorder, destroy the administrative system and would fail as being entirely opposed to the traditions of the Indian people have turned out to be completely false.

The book devotes about 85 pages to various appendices and about 90 pages to the Montford reforms. It gives copious extracts from various documents but the value of the extracts is very much reduced in the absence of references. The printing and get up of the book is good.

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